The University of Chicago

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THEODOR STORM'S CHRONIKNOVELLEN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1942

BY
JOHN HARMS UBBEN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1942

The University of Chicago

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THEODOR STORM'S CHRONIKNOVELLEN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES
1942

BY
JOHN HARMS UBBEN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1942

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation to Dr. John G. Kunstmann, under whose supervision this dissertation has been written, for suggesting this topic and for his very helpful criticisms. He is also indebted to Dr. Helena M. Gamer for the constructive suggestions she made with regards to this manuscript. The author is grateful for the co-operation accorded him by the librarians especially of The University of Chicago and of the University of Illinois and Harvard University for making certain texts available.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	CHARACTERS, HISTORICAL EVENTS AND MISCELLANEA	6
	Real and Fictitious Characters	6
	Names of Fictitious Characters	11
	Historical Events	15
	Miscellanea	18
III.	FOLK BELIEF	23
IV.	MODES OF COIFFURE AND COSTUMES	36
	Modes of Coiffure	36
	Costumes	39
V.	CUSTOMS	46
	Social Customs	46
	Religious Customs	50
	Legal Customs	59
VI.	BUILDINGS AND THEIR FURNISHINGS	65
VII.	FLORA	70
VIII.	LANGUAGE	73
	Archaic Words and Phrases	73
	Forms of Address	77
IX.	CONCLUSION	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY		84

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41544318_0052

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Theodor Storm has written five Chroniknovellen which were published during the years from 1876 to 1885.[1] These Chroniknovellen were the result of Storm's prolonged study of the cultural history of his native Husum and neighborhood. Just ten years after his first Novelle, Martha und ihre Uhr, was written (1848) Storm states in a letter to his parents from Heiligenstadt that he has taken up the study of Husum and its surroundings.[2] When he returned to Husum in 1864, he studied the chronicles of Lass and Krafft as well as Peter Goldschmidt's Höllischer Morpheus.[3] It is probable that Storm at this time became acquainted with Jensen's Bilder aus dem Predigerleben der Vorzeit which was published in 1850 in Biernatzky's Volksbuch.[4] In 1872 Storm published as the

---

[1]Albert Köster, "Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der Werke Theodor Storms," Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, LXX (1918) (3), 11-13. Hereafter cited as Köster, "Prolegomena."

[2]Therese Rockenbach, Theodor Storms Chroniknovellen. Eine Untersuchung über Quellen und Technik (Braunschweig, 1903), p. 12. Hereafter cited as Rockenbach. Storm wrote this letter in January 1858. I have not seen this letter. Hereafter an asterisk will be affixed to the citation of a work that is not available to me.

[3]Theodor Storm's Sämtliche Werke, ed. by Albert Köster (Leipzig, 1923), VIII, 40, 42, 49. Hereafter cited as Sämtliche Werke. Storm speaks here of the contents of the Höllischer Morpheus and of the chronicles of Husum. The complete titles of these chronicles and Höllischer Morpheus are, according to Rockenbach, p. 17: J. Lass, Sammelung einiger Husumischen Nachrichten (von 1089 bis 1750 reichend).* Johann Melchior Krafft, Ein zweyfaches Zwei=Hundert=Jähriges Jubel=Gedächnis ... Dem beygefüget ist I. eine Zwey=Hundert=Jährige Husumische Kirchen= und Schul=Historie; II. Eine ausführliche Lebensbeschreibung des ... Hn. M. Jacobi Fabricii.* Petrus Goldschmidt, Höllischer Morpheus wider die vorige und heutige Atheisten, Naturalisten und namentlich wider den Schwarmgeist D. Beckern in der Bezauberten Welt.* Hereafter the chronicles will be cited as Lass and Krafft. Storm is supposed to have used the edition of the Höllischer Morpheus that was published in 1704; cf. Rockenbach, p. 17.

[4]Volksbuch für das Jahr 1850 für Schleswig-Holstein und

first result of his studies the article entitled, "Zerstreute Kapitel."[1] That the chronicles of Lass and Krafft were for Storm a continued source of interest is seen from his letter to Hermione von Preuschen in 1877.[2] He tells her that he is still reading the chronicles. It is the above chronicles and Goldschmidt's Höllischer Morpheus that were Storm's main sources for four of his Chroniknovellen which deal with the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In Lass, his chief source, he found information about the leading citizens of Husum,[3] the social and political conditions of Schleswig-Holstein,[4] and, among other things, about costumes and buildings and their furnishings.[5] Krafft's as well as Lass's chronicles were particularly valuable as sources of information about the clergy and matters pertaining to the church.[6] Furthermore, Peter Goldschmidt's Höllischer Morpheus was Storm's chief source for his study of witchcraft and the characterization of Peter Goldschmidt in his Chroniknovelle Renate.[7] For Storm's fourteenth-century Chroniknovelle, Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus, the chivalric literature of the Middle Ages, and above all Gottfried's Tristan furnished the cultural background. The idea of the wedding in Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus, Storm took from H. Wenzel's poem, "Die Hochzeit."[8]

Lauenburg, hersg. von K. Biernatzky (7. Jahrg.). Hereafter cited as Volksbuch.* This reference is cited from Franz Kobes, Kindheitserinnerungen und Heimatbeziehungen bei Theodor Storm in Dichtung und Leben, diss. (Berlin, 1916), p. 29. Hereafter cited as Kobes.

[1]Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte. Ein Familienbuch für das gesamte geistige Leben der Gegenwart, Vol. XXXI (1872). The article will be cited as Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," the periodical as Westermann.

[2]Thea Müller, "Theodor Storms Erzählung Aquis Submersus," Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, ed. by Ernst Elster (Marburg, 1925), No. 26, p. 11. Hereafter cited as Müller.

[3]Kobes, p. 23. "Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen," Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 40-42.

[4]Kobes, pp. 32, 38-39, 41-42. [5]Rockenbach, p. 19.

[6]Kobes, pp. 26-27. "Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen," Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 40-42.

[7]"Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen," Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 42-49. Rockenbach, p. 39.

[8]H. Wenzel, "Die Hochzeit," Gedichte* (Glogau, 1838),

One of the aims of a Chroniknovelle is to reproduce the cultural background of the age which it represents. To achieve this the author claims to base his story on some ancient document,[1] usually a chronicle. This is the case in all of Storm's Chroniknovellen: the manuscript for Aquis Submersus (IV, 264, 311) Storm asserts to have found in a chest in a pastor's attic; the documents for Renate (V, 72, 100, 130-31) he supposedly discovered in his grandmother's chest of drawers. Again, Storm says that the story of Eekenhof (V, 228, 229) was known to tradition, that the name of the last narrator was found in the church register, and that a picture of Eekenhof could be seen on an epitaph in the attic of the church. Part of the material for Zur Chronik Von Grieshuus (VI, 198-199, 240) he found in archives, more he gathered from the reports of those who still knew the history of Grieshuus, and Book II of Zur Chronik Von Grieshuus is the story of an eye-witness, Caspard Bokenfeld, the private tutor of Grieshuus. The history of Rolf Lembeck in Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus Storm claims to have read in a fourteenth-century Latin chronicle.[2]

Not only does the writer of a Chroniknovelle claim to base his story on some ancient document which supposedly contains much of the cultural background of a past age, but he uses in addition other devices to create the impression that his work is representative of that time. Thus, for example, the author of the chronicle is represented as telling the story.[3] This is the case in Storm's Aquis Submersus (IV, 264, 311), Renate (V, 72, 100, 130-31) and Book II of Zur Chronik Von Grieshuus (VI, 248). In introducing the author of the chronicle in Renate as the narrator of the story, Storm says that he has changed the language and style of the chronicle to the extent that the reader might understand it more readily, that he has not, however, changed the content in any way.

---

pp. 101-108; cf. Rockenbach, pp. 65-68.

[1]Rupprecht Leppla, "Wilhelm Weinhold und die chronikalische Erzählung," Germanische Studien (Berlin, 1928), No. 54, p. 6. Hereafter cited as Leppla.

[2]Theodor Storm, "Noch ein Lembeck," Westermann, LIX (1886), 81. Hereafter cited as Theodor Storm,"Noch ein Lembeck." The first version of this Chroniknovelle has the title "Noch ein Lembeck," whereas the revised version which appeared later in the same year is called, Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus. Cf. Köster, "Prolegomena," p. 13.

[3]Leppla, p. 53.

Critical treatises of Storm's Chroniknovellen are Rockenbach's Theodor Storms Chroniknovellen. Eine Untersuchung über Quellen und Technik, and Franz Kobes' Kindheitserinnerungen und Heimatsbeziehungen bei Theodor Storm in Dichtung und Leben (both are dissertations), and Thea Müller's, "Theodor Storms Erzählung Aquis Submersus." These three works aim to establish Storm's sources of information for the Chroniknovellen. In addition to the above, Karl Gratopp has discussed the superstitions in the Chroniknovellen in his dissertation, Volkspoesie und Volksglaube in den Dichtungen Theodor Storms.[1]

The object of this dissertation is to establish the historicity of the cultural background in Theodor Storm's Chroniknovellen: Aquis Submersus (1876), Renate (1878), Eekenhof (1879), Zur Chronik Von Grieshuus (1884), and Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus (1885).[2] Rockenbach, Kobes, Müller and Gratopp have pointed out Storm's main sources for his Chroniknovellen. They have shown in general where Storm found the material for certain allusions to the cultural background. This treatise purports to examine in detail the cultural background in Storm's Chroniknovellen and to demonstrate that Storm's use of this material is historically accurate. The method will be to compare the various items of the cultural background in the Chroniknovellen with actual historical accounts of the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. With regards to Storm's characters, I shall take up only those who have some connection with the cultural background.

It was comparatively easy for Storm to copy from existing historical sources; it was not so easy, however, to adapt a mass of historical details to the stories he created. Hence the more evidence we find confirming the historicity of the various items of the cultural background in the Chroniknovellen, the more reason we have to praise Storm's skill in combining so much learning and historical accuracy with highly artistic writing. This treatise will attempt to show that Storm, who is often regarded as a highly subjective writer, even in the Novellen of his later years, was at the same time very objective in that he reproduced even the

---

[1] Rostock, 1914.

[2] Köster, "Prolegomena," pp. 11-13. I shall use the following abbreviations: AS for Aquis Submersus, R for Renate, E for Eekenhof, G for Zur Chronik Von Grieshuus, and H for Ein Fest auf Haderslevhuus.

minute details of the cultural background in the Chroniknovellen with historical accuracy. The cultural background in Storm's Chroniknovellen will be discussed in the following seven chapters: characters, historical events and miscellanea; folk belief; modes of coiffure and costumes; social, religious, and legal customs: buildings and their furnishings; flora; and language.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERS, HISTORICAL EVENTS AND MISCELLENEA

Real and Fictitious Characters

The characters in Storm's Chroniknovellen are either real, that is, they have actually lived, or fictitious, that is, they are not known to history. It is my purpose to determine whether these characters, the historical events, and other points of cultural history are described in accordance with the information available in historical documents, and whether the fictitious characters are presented in such a way as would enable us to say: they might have lived at that time. Naturally, we shall be more interested in Storm's presentation of fictitious characters since it is in them that he had to display his ability to create people who fitted into the cultural background of the time.

In H his fourteenth-century Chroniknovelle Storm introduces a number of historical characters. Of these Claus Lembeck is most important. He was, as Storm claims, first among the knights of Schleswig-Holstein (H, VII, 1). He married a rich widow of Jutland (H, VII, 1), gained control over all of North Jutland,[1] and was on the side of King Waldemar Atterdag II only when it suited his interest (H, VII, 45). All this agrees with our historical records.[2] In the same Novelle, Storm describes Charles IV correctly as the founder of the University of Prague and the promoter of the bonae artes (H, VII, 2-4). Another historical character in H (VII, 46) is Albrecht von Orlamünde. Ordinarily, one connects

---

[1] Theodor Storm, "Noch ein Lembeck," p. 80.

[2] J. M. Lappenberg (ed.), "Chronicon Holtzatiae," Schleswig-Holstein Lauenburgische Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für vaterländische Geschichte, I (1887), 72-75. The article will hereafter be cited as "Chronicon Holtzatiae" and the periodical as Quellensammlung. Georg Waitz, Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte in drei Büchern (Göttingen, 1851-54), I, 231-34. Hereafter cited as Waitz. Cf. Karl Müllenhoff, Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg (rev. ed.; Schleswig, 1921), No. 28. Hereafter cited as Müllenhoff.

the Orlamünde family with Thuringia, but Storm is right in claiming Albrecht von Orlamünde for Schleswig-Holstein. He had become, in 1201, a vassal of King Waldemar and ruler of Holstein.[1] Hennecke Lembeck, according to Storm, the younger son of Claus Lembeck (H, VII, 1), is documented for the first time in 1368 as the son of Claus Lembeck.[2] So is his successful campaign (H, VII, 1) against the citizens of Kiel.[3]

The most important fictitious character in H is Rolf Lembeck. As was not uncommon for young knights of the Middle Ages, Rolf Lembeck has a private tutor[4] and studies at foreign universities.[5] After Rolf has spent several years at the University of Paris, he attends the newly founded University of Prague (H, VII, 2). The latter attracted many students from all Europe as early as 1350.[6] At Prague Rolf meets Charles IV at a ball (H, VII, 2-4). It is natural that Charles IV, who sought to extend his influence, should welcome the son of Claus Lembeck, the leader of the knights of Schleswig-Holstein.[7] The emperor, who himself has spent part of his boyhood in Paris,[8] praises Rolf Lembeck's knowledge of the bonae artes (H, VII, 3). Storm has Charles IV knight Rolf Lembeck before the latter leaves Prague (H, VII, 4); this is in accordance with medieval custom, for young nobles were generally knighted by knights or kings who favored

---

[1] Edgard Hermberg, Zur Geschichte des älteren holsteinischen Adels, diss. (Kiel, 1914), pp. 18-20, 25, 28, 38. Hereafter cited as Hermberg.

[2] "Chronicon Holtzatiae," p. 75. [3] Ibid.

[4] Alvin Schultz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1889), I, 181-82. Hereafter cited as Schultz, Das höfische Leben. Georg Steinhausen, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur (2d ed.; Leipzig-Wien, 1913), I, 340. Hereafter cited as Steinhausen.

[5] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 157.

[6] H. Friedjung, Kaiser Karl IV und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit (Wien, 1876), pp. 58, 114-15. Hereafter cited as Friedjung.

[7] Friedrich Rauter, Karl IV. Beziehungen zu Westfahlen, Halle diss. (Halle a.d.S., 1913), pp. 14, 60. Hereafter cited as Rauter. Charles IV visited Westphalia and Northwestern Germany several times.

[8] Friedjung, pp. 28, 58, 115.

them.[1] After returning home Rolf marries and, being the oldest son,[2] takes over his father's estate (H, VII, 10). His wife is Wulfhild of Schauenburg, the widow of Hans Pogwisch, whose family was well known in Holstein around 1350.[3] She was the daughter of count Gerard the Great, who had been Claus Lembeck's superior in the early reign of King Waldemar Atterdag II.[4] The countess of Jülich, whom Rolf Lembeck presumably meets about 1354 at the court of Charles IV (H, VII, 2-4) could have visited there, for Charles IV was a benefactor of the Jülich family in Westphalia and raised Wilhelm von Jülich from the rank of count to that of duke in 1354.[5] He even assisted in adjusting a Jülich family quarrel.[6] Another fictitious person in H is the servant Gaspard whose appearance (H, VII, 9), manners (H, VII, 10), and knowledge of proverbs and folk songs (H, VII, 9) agree well with our conception of the witty court fool of the Middle Ages.[7]

Because the historical characters in Storm's seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Chroniknovellen are either merely alluded to, or play so minor a role that they do not add to the cultural background, I shall proceed to the discussion of the fictitious characters. One of these is Johannes in AS. He is a promising young painter whose study in Amsterdam is made possible by his paternal friend and benefactor, Master Gerhardus (AS, IV, 265). Johannes is evidently patterned after the painter Jürgen Ovens (1623-1678) of Schleswig-Holstein of whose portraits, which were generally admired, Storm speaks favorably in the Chroniknovellen (AS, IV, 280). Like Ovens, Johannes (AS, IV, 298, 307) studied painting in the school of Rembrandt in Amsterdam[8] and, like him,

---

[1] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 181-82.

[2] Ibid., p. 642. Cf. H (VII, 50).

[3] "Chronicon Holtzatiae," pp. 108-109. Cf. Hermberg, p. 111.

[4] "Chronicon Holtzatiae," p. 72.

[5] Hans Kaiser, Der Collectarius perpetuarum formarum des Johann von Gelnhausen, diss. (Strassburg, 1898), pp. 54-55.

[6] Rauter, p. 28.

[7] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 207.

[8] F. Bosselt, "Die kirchliche Kunst in Schleswig-Holstein," Zeitschrift für Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburgische Geschichte,

he made two journeys to Amsterdam. The years 1642 and 1657, when Ovens went to that city, would fit the time of Johannes' trips.[1] While at Amsterdam, Johannes earns a sum of money that would have enabled him to marry Katharina, and to establish his home there among his artist friends (AS, IV, 298). Storm may here allude to the financial and social status of Jürgen Ovens, who earned much money and mingled with the best known painters in Amsterdam.[2] Storm makes Johannes still more historical in that he has him paint a picture of Lazarus for a widow of Husum who wishes to dedicate it to the church in honor of her late husband (AS, IV, 312). This picture actually existed in the church of Husum.[3] Johannes is also asked to make a portrait of Titus Axen who was mayor of Husum till 1662 (AS, IV, 312).[4]

The important fictitious characters in R are Josias and Renate who represent two very different views of life, so different that even their love cannot bring about an understanding between them. Josias is typical of the contemporary seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century fanatical belief in witchcraft. This belief finds its extreme advocate in the historical character Peter Goldschmidt (R, IV, 102-105).[5] As was customary for the sons of the Protestant clergy, Josias feels duty bound to carry on his father's profession as had been the case in the family from the days of Luther and Melanchthon (R, V, 125).[6] At the university Josias studies under conservative professors who adhere more or less to the principles laid down by Peter Goldschmidt in his Höllischer Morpheus (R, V, 78-79).[7] Even though Josias loves

---

XI (1881), 301. The article will be cited as Bosselt, and the periodical as ZfSchl-HG.

[1] Ibid., p. 301.

[2] Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, XXV (1887), 3.

[3] Müller, pp. 44-45. She bases her remarks on Lass, I, 108.

[4] Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," p. 471. Rockenbach, p. 26. Lass, I, 108 is her source.

[5] Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," pp. 467-70.

[6] H. N. A. Jensen, Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte, ed. by A. Michelsen (Kiel, 1873-79), III, 210. Hereafter cited as Jensen, Kirchengeschichte.

[7] Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," p. 267.

Renate, he nevertheless promises his father that he will not marry her, because her family is believed to be in league with the devil (R, V, 125). Josias remains unmarried and spends his last years with the pastor of Ostenfeld (R, V, 131). All these details Storm took from Jensen's Bilder aus dem Priesterleben der Vorzeit where a young minister promises his father that he will not marry the farmer's daughter because her family is suspected of witchcraft and where, too, the son remains single and lives in retirement with a neighboring pastor.[1] It is likely that Storm refers here to David Christian Mercatus who was pastor of Ostenfeld during the years 1718-1739, when Josias would very likely have been retired. Storm says that the pastor of Ostenfeld was a very energetic man who imposed his will upon the congregation (R, V, 131-32). These statements agree with the historical account of David Mercatus who died in 1739 at the early age of forty-nine.[2]

A more tolerant and enlightened view of life is represented by Renate. She reflects the attitude of Christian Thomasius and Balthasar Becker, who held that the belief in witchcraft was a mere illusion (R, V, 102).[3] That Renate does not believe in the power of the devil, is clear from her statement to Josias: "Aber er ist unmächtig; er kann nicht kommen!" (R, V, 109). Inasmuch as Renate had not attended universities where she might have acquainted herself with the ideas of Thomasius and Becker, it was necessary for Storm to give her a teacher who held this enlightened view. As a matter of fact she was a pupil of sexton Albert Carstens of Husum, who is distantly related to her (R, V, 86). This Albert Carstens actually lived in Husum after 1701 and, before that he had spent two years at the University of Kiel.[4] Thus he very likely resided in Husum at the time of conflict between the ideas of Josias and

---

[1]Paul Schütze, Theodor Storm. Sein Leben und Seine Dichtung, ed. by Edmund Lange (4th ed.; Berlin, 1916), p. 270. Hereafter cited as Schütze. Jensen's Bilder aus dem Priesterleben der Vorzeit was published in 1850 in Biernatsky's Volksbuch.*

[2]Kobes, p. 28. His source is Lass; he does not give references to page and volume.

[3]August Sach, Deutsches leben in der vergangenheit (Halle, 1990-91), II, 487. Hereafter cited as Sach, Deutsches Leben.

[4]Kobes, p. 26. He takes his information from Lass, I, 12-13, 15, 145; II, 1, 3-4, etc., and Krafft, pp. 317-18, 339-40, 361.

Renate, approximately from 1707 to 1710 (R, V, 112). The attitude of the people of Schwabstedte who suspected Renate of witchcraft will be discussed in the chapter on folk belief.

The fictitious character of importance in G is Junker Detlev, the younger son of Grieshuus. He studies "not in Copenhagen,"[1] but at Bordesholm (G, VI, 206), where after 1565 a part of the old monastery of Catholic days was used as a school for secular instruction.[2] Junker Detlev is made more historical in that Storm says that he is, at Gottorp, an adviser of Kielmannsege, the chancellor of Schleswig-Holstein.[3]

Names of Fictitious Characters

The names which Storm uses for his fictitious characters were common names in the respective centuries which the Chroniknovellen represent as is evidenced by their frequent occurrence in the historical documents of the time. The following names of fictitious women characters bear out this claim: Abel[4] (G, VI, 262), Adelheit[5] (G, VI, 249), Barbara and Bärbe[6] (G, VI, 239), Benedikte[7] (H, VII, 16; E, V, 243), Dagmar[8] (H, VII, 18), Grethe-Liese[9] (G,

---

[1]Müllenhoff, No. 47: "Die beiden Brüder in Sundewitt." It is likely that Storm had this story in mind, for there as in G, the name of the older brother is Hinrich, the older brother kills the younger, and the younger studies in Copenhagen. That Storm chose Bordesholm as an educational center shows that he knew the history of Bordesholm.

[2]Waitz, II, 276. [3]Ibid., I, 611.

[4]Christian L. E. Stemann, Schleswigs recht und gerichtsverfassung im siebzehnten Jahrhundert nach den Gerichtsprotocollen (Schleswig-Flensburg, 1855), p. 249. Hereafter cited as Stemann, Schleswigs recht. The name Abel was commonly used in Schleswig-Holstein as a given name for women.

[5]Karl Weinhold, Die deutschen Frauen des Mittelalters (Wien, 1882), I, 25. Hereafter cited as Weinhold.

[6]D. v. Stemann, "Beiträge zur Adelsgeschichte," ZfSchl-HG, I (1870), 86. Hereafter cited as Stemann, "Beiträge."

[7]Weinhold, I, 22.

[8]"Chronicon Holtzatiae," I, 36-37.

[9]"Repertorien zu Schleswig-Holsteinischen Urkundensammlungen, Dritte Reihe," ZfSchl-HG, VII (1877), 67. Hereafter cited as "Repertorien."

VI, 205), Heide[1] (G, VI, 250), Heilwig[2] (H, VII, 36; E, V, 243), Katharina[3] (AS, IV, 269), Maike[4] (E, V, 233), Margarethe[5] (R, V, 116), Maria[6] (G, VI, 292), Marike[7] (R, V, 88), Trincke (AS, IV, 329) and Trine[8] (H, VII, 20), Ursula[9] (AS, IV, 282), and Wulfhild[10] (H, VII, 4). The name Henriette (G, VI, 242) I do not find documented for Schleswig-Holstein for the beginning of the eighteenth century. The form Matten (G, VI, 246) is perhaps a variant of names like Matza and Metza.[11] Since Storm chose the names of his characters with extreme care, it may be assumed that he also knew of the occurrence of names like Henriette, Matten and Sine (H, VII, 62), which do not seem to be recorded for Schleswig-Holstein at the time of the Chroniknovellen. The name Renate, which is not documented for Schleswig-Holstein, Storm very likely chose for its meaning.

With the exception of one or two, all the given names that Storm uses for his male characters were names that were common in Schleswig-Holstein at the time of the Chroniknovellen. Such names are: Ambrosius[12] (H, VII, 62), Andreas[13] (R, V, 133), Benno[14] (E, V, 245), Caspar[15] (G, VI, 247), Christian[16] (R, V, 103),

---

[1]Reimer Hansen, "Zur Topographie und Geschichte Ditmarschens," ZfSchl-HG, XXVII (1898), 277.

[2]Weinhold, I, 24. Ernst Förstemann, Altdeutsches Namenbuch (Halle, 1900), Vol. I, col. 729. Hereafter cited as Förstemann.

[3]Weinhold, I, 26. "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VII (1877), 70.

[4]A. Heintze, Die deutschen Familiennamen (Halle a.d.S., 1922), ed. by Paul Cascorbi, p. 234. Hereafter cited as Heintze. Maike is a dialect and diminitive form of Maria.

[5]Weinhold, I, 26. [6]Ibid., p. 22. [7]Heintze, p. 234.

[8]"Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VII (1877), 70.

[9]Weinhold, I, 23. [10]Förstemann, Vol. I, col. 1653.

[11]Weinhold, I, 19. [12]Heintze, p. 107.

[13]Waitz, I, 231, 243, 259.

[14]L. Friedrich, "Die Geographie der ältesten deutschen Personennamen," Gieszener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie (Gieszen, 1922), VII, 88. Heintze, p. 232.

[15]Peter Sax, "Die Eiderstedischen Chronisten," ZfSchl-HG, XXV (1895), 183. Hereafter cited as Sax. Cf. A. Socin, Mittelhochdeutsches namenbuch nach oberrheinischen quellen des zwölften

Dietrich[1] (AS, IV, 303), Gabriel[2] (G, VI, 256), Gaspard[3] (H, VII, 9), Gehrt[4] (H, VII, 50), Gerhardus (AS, IV, 282), Hans[5] (H, VII, 6, 16), Jaspar[6] (G, VI, 292), Heike[7] (G, VI, 257), Held[8] (R, V, 115), Hinrich[9] (G, VI, 247), Jens[10] (G, VI, 252), Jochem[11] (G, VI, 256), Johannes[12] (AS, IV, 268), Josias[13] (R, V, 77), Kilian[14] (G, VI, 252), Kurt[15] (AS, IV, 268), Marten[16] (G, VI, 252), Menno[17] (E, V, 245), Owe[18] (G, VI, 230), Rolf[19] (H, VII, 3; G, VI, 250). That certain given names were reserved for the members of the nobility in Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Storm reflects in his use of the following names:

---

und dreizehnten jahrhunderts (Basel, 1903), p. 67. Hereafter cited as Socin.

[16] ZfSchl-HG, II (1872), Table I, p. 430.

[1] Ibid., Table III, p. 430. Cf. Heintze, p. 177.

[2] D. v. Stemann, "Beiträge zur Adelsgeschichte, die Familie Sehested," ZfSchl-HG, I (1871), Table I, 108.

[3] Sax, p. 183. Cf. Socin, p. 67. [4] Waitz, I, 202.

[5] Hermberg, p. 49. "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VIII (1878), 97.

[6] Sax, p. 183. Socin, p. 67.

[7] W. Knorr, "Über besonders bemerkenswerte Personen= und Geschlechtsnamen," ZfSchl-HG, XIX (1889), 156. Hereafter cited as Knorr.

[8] Heintze, p. 177.

[9] ZfSchl-HG, II (1872), Table II, 430. [10] Knorr, p. 145.

[11] "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VIII (1878), 88.

[12] Hermberg, p. 49. "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VIII (1878), 97.

[13] ZfSchl-HG, II (1872), Table I, 430.

[14] "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VI (1876), 12.

[15] Förstemann, Vol. I, col. 1762.

[16] "Repertorien," ZfSchl-HG, VI (1876), 12.

[17] Heintze, p. 232.

[18] Stemann, "Beiträge," ZfSchl-HG, IV (1873), 265.

[19] Förstemann, Vol. I, col. 918.

Wulf[1] (AS, IV, 268), Hennicke[2] (E, V, 231), and Detlev[3] (E, V, 250; G, VI, 200) for members of the nobility. The names Axel (H, VII, 14) and Ringang (H, VII, 16-17) I do not find documented for the time of the Chroniknovelle H, but it is very likely that these names occurred, for Axel was used in Schleswig-Holstein after the time of H[4] and names with Ring were not uncommon in Schleswig-Holstein during the Middle Ages.[5] Storm, no doubt, was acquainted with Mörike's poem "Schön-Rohtraut," because he was an admirer of Mörike, and most likely took the name Ringang from Mörike's poem.[6]

Thus far we have seen that Storm chose given names for his fictitious characters that were commonly used in Schleswig-Holstein during the time of the Chroniknovellen. The same historical accuracy is evident in Storm's choice of surnames. The following surnames that we find in the Chroniknovellen were well known in Schleswig-Holstein during the time for which Storm employs them: Behrens[7] (R, V, 69), Bockenfeld (G, VI, 247), Bookwald[8] (H, VII, 28), Feddersen[9] (R, V, 96), Hansen[10] (R, V, 113), Harders[11] (H, VII, 20), Heiken[12] (G, VI, 290), Madsen[13] (G, VI, 257), Ottsen[14] (AS, IV, 290), Pogwisch[15] (H, VII, 4), Wulf[16] (AS, IV, 285), Von

---

[1]Waitz, I, 184.

[2]ZfSchl-HG, II (1872), Table III, 430. [3]Ibid.

[4]Knorr, p. 184. [5]Heintze, p. 195.

[6]Hanns Wolfgang Rath, Briefwechsel zwischen Theodor Storm und Eduard Mörike (Stuttgart, n.d., date at end of introduction is 1919), pp. 1-2.

[7]Paul von Hedemann-Heespen, "Der Zustand der Herrschaft Pinneberg nach der Reunion bis um 1700," ZfSchl-HG, XXXVII (1907), 10. Hereafter cited as Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg."

[8]Stemann, "Beiträge," ZfSchl-HG, VII (1889), 155. Names like Bockenfeld and Bookwald reflect the fact that large beech forests covered Schleswig-Holstein during the Middle Ages.

[9]Knorr, p. 155. [10]Heintze, p. 175.

[11]Quellensammlung, IV (1875), 324. [12]Heintze, p. 175.

[13]A. Ipsen, "Einige Dingswinden aus Nordschleswig," ZfSchl-HG, III (1872-73), 182.

[14]Heintze, p. 113.

[15]Hermberg, p. 111. This name is first documented in 1310.

[16]Ibid., p. 71.

der Wisch[1] (G, VI, 245). The name Pottsacksch (R, V, 71) that Storm very likely took from Müllenhoff,[2] may have occurred during the early eighteenth century, but I do not find it cited in historical accounts. Since many surnames formed with Raven were common in the fourteenth century, the name Ravenstrupp (H, VII, 16) was very likely known in Schleswig-Holstein during the fourteenth century, although I do not find an actual occurrence. Surnames like Siebenzig (AS, IV, 323) and Fiedelfritz (G, VI, 260) are more modern than the previously discussed names, but may have been used during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There does not seem to be any documentation for the name von der Risch (AS, IV, 301); this could hardly be a misprint for the name von der Wisch (G, VI, 245) which was very common in Schleswig-Holstein.[3]

Historical Events

The only major historical event to which Storm refers is the Black Death. Historians are not agreed whether this pestilence reached Schleswig-Holstein in the fall of 1349 or early in spring 1350.[4] When Storm has the Black Death arrive in September, 1349, he is in agreement with the majority of opinion.[5] The inhabitants of Haderslevhuus (H, VII, 15) see a cloud of black fog-like smoke descend upon everything. Most chronicles of the time mention a black substance.[6] Similarly Storm's description of the

---

[1] Ibid., p. 61. [2] Müllenhoff, No. 347.

[3] "Chronicon Holtzatiae," p. 118. Cf. Quellensammlung, VI, 131, 222, 285.

[4] F. Konstmann, "Der Schwarze Tod in unserer Heimat," Die Heimat. Monatsschrift des Vereins zur Pflege der Natur und Landeskunde, in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, und Lübeck, II (1892), 249, 252. The article will be cited as Konstmann and the periodical as Die Heimat. Konstmann summarizes the statements of various chronicle writers of northern Germany.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 201. J. E. C. Hecker, "Der Schwarze Tod im 14. Jahrhundert," Die grossen Volkskrankheiten des Mittelalters. Historisch-Pathologische Untersuchungen, ed. by August Hirsch (Berlin, 1865), II, 36. Hereafter cited as Hecker, "Der Schwarze Tod." This black substance may have been an atmospheric condition caused by the numerous earthquakes and floods. Cf. Müllenhoff, No, 384. Cf. also Carl Heinrich Christian Mahr, "Erinnerungen an den Schwarzen Tod in den Herzogthümern Schleswig-Holstein," Denkschrift zur Jubelfeier des 50-jährigen Doctorats von F. H. Hegewisch ...* (Hamburg, 1855).

victims of the Black Death corresponds to the medical statements of the time: the intestines of the afflicted boy, Dagmar's brother, burn, his lips become the color of soot and the corpse looks blue-black (H, VII, 16).[1] According to contemporary records far more children died of the pestilence than adults and more women than men,[2] facts reflected in H (VII, 16-17) where four of the five children and the mother, not the father, die. Contact with anyone afflicted with the disease meant certain death.[3] Benedikte Ravenstrupp knows this and for that reason motions her husband away (H, VII, 17). Eventually there is no more room to bury the dead in the cemetery of the castle and a new place has to be provided outside of the castle grounds (H, VII, 17). This procedure is in accordance with the practice of the times. To cite only one example: cities like Kiel laid out cemeteries for the first time during the Black Death outside of the city walls.[4] The people of Haderslevhuus strew fragrant grass and thyme on the floors to sweeten the pestilent air (H, VII, 16). Such was the medical advice given at the time.[5] Likewise, the effects of the plague upon the minds of the survivors[6] is shown in the change that takes place in the character of Hans Ravenstrupp; he avoids and ignores his daughter Dagmar, even though she has no one left but him (H, VII, 17). His harshness becomes still more evident when he enforces law and order despotically as the representative of his king (H, VII, 19).[7]

There are historical events of minor importance to which Storm refers in the Chroniknovellen. Thus he says in G (VI, 257) that the book of Antoinette Bourignon of Holland, Das Grab der

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 23, 25-26. Konstmann, p. 198.

[2] Hecker, "Der Schwarze Tod," pp. 25, 28.

[3] Ibid., p. 25.

[4] Konstmann, p. 250. Cf. Müllenhoff, No. 382(2).

[5] Hecker, "Der Schwarze Tod," pp. 77-80. Cf. The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio, Introduction by Henry Morley (London, n.d.), p. 72. Cf. Conrad Schwestermiller, Pestregiment (gedruckt zu Cölln an der Spree, 1484), available in G. Freytag, Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit, ed. by G. A. E. Bogeng (Leipzig, n.d.), II, 236-337.

[6] Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 656.

[7] Ibid. Konstmann, p. 256.

falschen Theologie, was burned on the market square in Flensburg. Storm found the information in the chronicles of Husum.[1]

That the pirates Störtebeker and Gödeke Michels, according to Storm, had a harbor east of the village of Schwabstedte (R, V, 69), is supported by one of Müllenhoff's Sagen.[2] Storm uses the word Vitalienbrüder (R, V, 94) for these pirates correctly because the name was given to them for supplying the city of Stockholm with food while it was besieged.[3]

In H (VII, 40) we read of a new firearm which Gaspard wants Rolf Lembeck to inspect in Hadersleben. The approximate date of the incident is 1360. True, the chronicles of Schleswig-Holstein do not mention gunpowder until 1373;[4] it is possible, however, that such a firearm could have been brought to Hadersleben as early as 1360.

When Junker Hinrich of Grieshuus fetches a doctor from the city, presumably Husum, he sees there a new gallows being erected and much wine being served to celebrate the occasion (G, VI, 204). The incident is very likely the same that Lass reports for the year 1652, for his account specifically mentions that beer was served in an open field to celebrate the building of a new gallows.[5] Even the year 1652 would be about the right year for Junker Hinrich's ride to Husum when he was approximately twenty years old, because that would make him close to eighty years old in 1713; he is described at the end of G (VI, 281) as being of great age.

In AS (IV, 279) Storm speaks of the introduction of the use of tobacco and adds that it had been brought in by soldiers.

---

[1]Rockenbach, p. 57. She bases her statements on Lass, I, 133-35; Krafft, p. 187 and Goldschmidt's Höllischer Morpheus, p. 22. Kobes, p. 40 states that it was burned according to Lass, I, 135 on May 30, 1674. Cf. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, IV, 32.

[2]Müllenhoff, No. 37(2).

[3]Paul Zaunert, Friesische Stammeskunde deutscher Landschaften (Jena, 1928), p. 66. Hereafter cited as Zaunert. It must be remembered that much of the information on these pirates is legendary. I find, for example, no account of an agreement that Bischop Schondeleff is to have had with them (R, V, 94).

[4]Nicolaus Beeck, "De inclito Adolpho comite, ordinis minorum in Kiel, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Graf Adolph IV. von Schauenburg," Quellensammlung, IV (1875), 220.

[5]Kobes, p. 39. Rockenbach, p. 55.

Here again his statements agree with the account in Lass.[1] When Storm has Dietrich (AS, IV, 279) and the tailor (R, V, 111), both members of the lower class, use tobacco, he may thereby wish to indicate the historical fact[2] that the use of tobacco was still confined to the lower class of society during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The great flood of the year 1634 is mentioned twice in AS (IV, 317, 325). Storm's estimate that it took many thousand lives is not exaggerated, for whole towns were swallowed up by the waters.[3]

Miscellanea

Thus far I have discussed in this chapter the characters, the names of these characters, and the historical events that occur in the Chroniknovellen. In the remainder of this chapter I shall take up various items of cultural conditions which, together with the foregoing form the cultural background of Storm's Chroniknovellen. Particularly in G the political conditions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries play an important role. Thus the colonel who marries Henriette of Grieshuus is attached to Wellington's regiment which is transferred from the district of Bremen to the city of Husum (G, VI, 243). This is historical, for one of Wellington's battalions came from Bremen to Husum in 1699.[4] Similarly Junker Rolf, the son of the colonel and Henriette of Grieshuus, takes part in the campaign of the Swedes against the Russians (G, VI, 280). Storm is accurate to the very day, for Junker Rolf dies at the bridge near Hallingstedt on the twenty-fourth of January, 1713, the exact day when the Swedes suffered a defeat at

---

[1]Kobes, p. 32. His source is Lass, I, 108.

[2]Steinhausen, II, 365. Kurt Heckscher, Die Volkskunde des germanischen Kulturkreises an Hand der Schriften Ernst Moritz Arndts und gleichzeitiger wie neuerer Parallelbelege (Hamburg, 1925), p. 190. Hereafter cited as Heckscher, Volkskunde.

[3]Kobes, pp. 42-43. His source is Lass, II, 211. Cf. Waitz, II (2), 565. Gertrud Storm, Theodor Storm, Ein Bild seines Lebens (2d ed.; Berlin, 1912), I, 15. Hereafter cited as G. Storm. Storm's maternal grandparents lost their property when the village of Padelack sank into the sea during this flood.

[4]Kobes, p. 40. Lass, I, 145, is his source.

the bridge.[1] Again Storm says in G (VI, 207) that Turks and Tartars were believed to be part of the Polish army. This agrees with documentary evidence.[2] Storm places the time of his Chronik-novelle E definitely in the second half of the seventeenth century when he says that Eskenhof was still in existence at the time Duke Christian Albrecht (1641-1694) and Christian IV (1646-1699), the king of Denmark, ruled Schleswig-Holstein together (E, V, 230).

Storm also describes accurately the economic conditions existing during the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. Foreign regiments were stationed in Schleswig-Holstein during most of this time and they made harsh demands upon the country.[3] In G (VI, 277) the Swedish general Steenbock required that the city of Husum supply him with five hundred tons of beer and an equal amount of grain for bread. All this, except that the grain for bread was only one hundred tons, agrees with an entry in Lass' chronicle.[4] Count Görtz, the Danish leader in Gottorp, is described in G (VI, 243) as being most disliked for his harsh demands and his injustice; he actually did sell church offices to the highest bidder, as Storm indicates (R, V, 78).[5] In R (V, 85) we read that a load of barley cost a hundred thalers and wheat still more. These statements correspond to the account of Lass in his chronicle of Husum.[6] Historians corroborate Storm's statement (G, VI, 215) that the foreign soldiers cut the best young trees out of the forests.[7]

Witchcraft plays a part in both AS and R. The witch who is alluded to as having been burned at the stake twenty years ago

---

[1] Ibid., p. 42. He bases his remarks on Lass, III, 6, 7.

[2] Waitz, II, 623.

[3] Christian U. Beccau, Versuch einer urkundlichen Darstellung der Geschichte Husums bis zur Ertheilung des Staatsrechts (Schleswig, 1854), p. 19. Hereafter cited as Beccau. Waitz, II (2), 640.

[4] Kobes, pp. 41-42. Lass is his source, but he gives no page reference. Cf. Waitz, II, 639. In 1658 sixty-four regiments are said to have been stationed in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, and their demands often exceeded the people's supply.

[5] Beccau, p. 191.

[6] Kobes, p. 27. Lass (no reference to page) is his source.

[7] Waitz, II (2), 640.

(R, V, 106) is in AS (IV, 323) referred to as actually being burned. This incident is historical, for in the year 1687 a Margarethe Carstens was burned at the stake in the city of Husum.[1] Storm's statement that she had died in prison before the execution took place (AS, IV, 321) agrees with the account in Lass.[2] The people in AS (IV, 321) believe that the devil could no longer wait for her soul and killed her in prison. This reflects the historical fact that many of the people who were accused of witchcraft died of the tortures which they had to endure during the trial.[3] The firm belief of the clergy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in witchcraft is alluded to in R (V, 125) where Josias' father makes his son swear that he will not marry Renate who is suspected of being in league with the devil, and in AS (IV, 329) where the pastor urges his congregation to go to Husum and to see the witch burned.

Storm refers repeatedly to the numerous packs of wolves that infested the forests of Schleswig-Holstein during the latter part of the seventeenth century (AS, IV, 273; G, VI, 254). This is historical, for regular hunting expeditions had to be undertaken during 1694-1695 when wolves ventured even near the homes, as Storm indicates in G (VI, 273).[4]

The equestrian statue of St. George of which Storm speaks in R (V, 74-75), as being in the church of Husum, was actually there at that time.[5]

In H (VII, 5) Wulfhild poisons her first husband with Rattenkraut. Storm may allude here to the fact that roots and flowers of certain plants were made into powder during the Middle Ages to poison rats and mice.[6]

Even in fine points of literary culture Storm is histori-

---

[1]Theodor Storm, "Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen," Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 49-50. Müller, p. 45. Lass I, 138-40 is her source.

[2]Kobes, p. 36. His reference is to Lass, I, 7, 96-97; II, 15-17.

[3]Gratopp, p. 78. His source is Heimreich, Nordfriesische Chronik, p. 285.*

[4]Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 22.

[5]Beccau, p. 180.

[6]Hieronimus Bock, Kreüterbuch (Strassburg, 1560), p. 334. Hereafter cited as Hieronimus Bock, Kreüterbuch.

cally accurate. When Johannes sees Katharina's locks, he says: "... wie es ein Engelländischer Poet so trefflich ausgedrücket," "rückwärts den Winden leichte Küsse werfend?" (AS, IV, 284-85). This is, no doubt, an allusion to the lines in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice (Act III, Scene II, ll. 92-93): "So are those crisped snaky golden locks which make such wanton gambols with the wind." Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice was so well known in Germany during the seventeenth century that imitations were being written by German writers.[1] As far as I can determine, however, Storm's rendering of these lines is wholly different from the existing German translations. In R (V, 126) Josias admires God's wisdom manifested in the interwoven roots and budding leaves of the water lily. To find cause for praising God in the smallest details of a flower is very characteristic of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; it reached its high point in Heinrich Brockes' Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott.[2]

In his fourteenth-century Chroniknovelle H Storm frequently makes use of the chivalric literature of the Middle Ages. Storm himself calls H a Minneabenteuer (H, VII, 1). He, no doubt, had Gottfried's Tristan in mind when he drew the characters of Rolf and Dagmar. Not only is their love of such a nature as if they, too, had drunk the love potion, but the very language that Rolf and Dagmar use at the time of their first meeting is that of Gottfried. Storm uses the word "süss" again and again with the same meaning as Gottfried;[3] he takes whole expressions out of Gottfried's Tristan, as for example: "de te benie! ... Et merci gentil Sir."[4] And it seems that the lines, "Gott woll ein süsses

---

[1]Cf. Lawrence G. Price, English-German Literary Influences: Bibliography and Survey ("University of California Publication of Modern Philology," IX [1919-20]), II, 153.

[2]Heinrich Brockes, "Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott," in Philipp Reclams Universalbibliotek, No. 2015. The poem "Die Kornblume," p. 65 might serve as an example. This collection will be cited as Reclam. Cf. Hoffmann-Krayer, "Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls in deutscher Dichtung und Kunst," Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte (Berlin, 1901), I, 166.

[3]Reinhold Bechstein (ed.), Gottfried's von Strassburg Tristan, "Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters mit Wort und Sacherklärungen" (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1890). Süss (süeze) occurs in ll. 750, 913, 1177-78, 1935, 7796. For the use of süss in H cf. pp. 20, 36, 62, 70, 71. This edition of Tristan will be cited as Gottfried's Tristan.

[4]Ibid., l. 2683, de benie, and l. 2960, curie de benie. In

Leben so süssem Geschöpfe geben!" are an allusion to lines 3269-70 in Gottfried's Tristan.[1] The rime "leben : geben" that Storm uses here occurs again and again in Tristan.[2]

That Rolf and Dagmar know the contents of Gottfried's Tristan and that of Heinrich von Friburg's continuation, is representative of the popularity of chivalric literature during the Middle Ages. Dagmar reads Gottfried's Tristan and Hartmann's Armer Heinrich (H, VII, 16, 18) with her governess who has brought these works with her from Thuringia. As a matter of fact this chivalric literature was found in the homes of the more educated people of the fourteenth century.[3] Similarly Storm has Gaspard, the jester, say in the first version of H:[4] "Er sass mit gekreuzten Beinen und sah mit schief herabgesenktem Kopfe auf die Dielen, ..." alluding no doubt, to Walther von der Vogelweide's lines: "Ich saz uf eime steine und dahte bein mit beine." And when Storm closes the Minneabenteuer (H, VII, 1) of Rolf and Dagmar with these words, "Dass Liebe stets nur Leiden am letzten Ende gibt" (H, VII, 72), he refers to the well known words of the Nibelungenlied, "Als diu liebe leide z'aller jüngste git," which one would expect to be popular during the fourteenth century.

Heinrich von Friburg's continuation, we find the exact words that Storm uses: "Et merci gentil Sir." Cf. Heinrich Friedrich von der Hagen (ed.), Heinrich von Friburg's Fortsetzung von Gottfried's Tristan, "Gottfried von Strassburg's Werke" (Breslau, 1823), II, l. 1201. Hereafter cited as Fortsetzung von Gottfried's Tristan.

[1] "Got gebe süze aventüre so süzer creatüre."

[2] Gottfried's Tristan, ll. 69-70, 153-54, 175-76, 225-26. Fortsetzung von Gottfried's Tristan, ll. 935-36, 1369-70, 4995-96.

[3] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 160.

[4] Theodor Storm, "Noch ein Lembeck," p. 85.

CHAPTER III

FOLK BELIEF

Since folk belief plays such an important part in Storm's Chroniknovellen, the question is, does Storm represent the folk tradition of Schleswig-Holstein correctly?

In R Storm gives us a picture of witchcraft as it affected and influenced the people of Schwabstedte and vicinity in the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries. The inhabitants suspect the Hofbauer of being in league with the devil and they see in his prosperity and physical sufferings proof of their suspicions.[1] He is believed to have been given unusual powers by the devil, for example, that of driving rats out of his barn with a whip. That is what Josias, the pastor's son, believes the Hofbauer is doing one evening (R, V, 109). The belief that rats and mice could be driven out with a flail was still common in many sections of Germany during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[2] We have reason to believe that Storm himself did not think such occurrences impossible.[3] He wrote to Gottfried Keller that rats in great numbers had been so driven out of his brother's house.[4] There was thought to be another means of ridding the house of rats and mice to which Storm refers in R (V, 109). There is in the Hofbauer's living room a little red

---

[1]Cf. Müllenhoff, No. 372. Storm's interest in the folklore of Schleswig-Holstein is seen in the fact that he collected folk tales; he turned these tales over to his friend Karl Müllenhoff who has affixed Storm's name to all the tales that Storm contributed to the Müllenhoff collection.

[2]Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Vol. VI (1932), col. 54. Hereafter cited as HwbdA. Adolf Wuttke, Der deutsche Volksglaube der Gegenwart (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1925), ed. by E. H. Meyer, sec. 616. Hereafter cited as Wuttke.

[3]Adalbert Köster, Theodor Storm und Gottfried Keller. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Theodor Storm und Gottfried Keller (3d ed.; Berlin, 1909), pp. 146-47. Hereafter cited as Köster, Briefwechsel. Cf. Thomas Mann, Gesammelte Werke. Leiden und Grösse der Meister. Neue Aufsätze (8th ed.; Berlin, 1935), pp. 185, 199, 202.

[4]Köster, Briefwechsel, p. 42.

clay idol, Fingaholi.[1] When Marike, the housekeeper, claims that the idol is a charm against rats and mice, she is, no doubt, expressing a general folk belief, for such charms were common.[2] The people of Schwabstedte suspect the Hofbauer of bewitching their cattle, because his alone are unaffected by disease (R, V, 90). It was still a very common belief during the early part of the eighteenth century that those in league with the devil can cause their neighbors' cattle to die (R, V, 90).[3] An unholy pact with the devil is involved in R (V, 111-12). The Hofbauer's socks are very loose, because Marike is constantly assailed by the devil while she knits them. But the Hofbauer may not wear more than one garter, for the devil would immediately claim his soul. Storm here makes use of the story of pastor Fabricius in Müllenhoff.[4] There stitches are dropped under the influence of the devil. Furthermore the neighbors of the Hofbauer believe that "something" torments him at night (R, V, 112) inasmuch as he often wakes up suffocating. The belief in the Nachtmahr or Trude, a creature that sits on a sleeper's chest and chokes him, was, and is, fairly common.[5]

Renate as well as her father, the Hofbauer, is suspected of witchcraft. The mere fact that she is the child of a person supposed to be in league with the devil is sufficient cause for suspicion.[6] Not infrequently the children of accused parents were

---

[1]The name Fingaholi is, I believe, an invention of Storm's. In coining the name, he may have been influenced by Fingal (whom he, no doubt, knew from Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, from Herder's Volkslieder and from other translations of or from allusions to Macpherson's Ossian) and by Fingalshöhle, the famous Fingal's Cave on Staffa.

[2]Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 223. Wuttke, sec. 201.

[3]Müllenhoff, Nos. 356-57. Here both calves and cows are bewitched. Gratopp, p. 78.

[4]Müllenhoff, No. 302.

[5]Wuttke, sec. 402. Müllenhoff, No. 387. Wolfgang Golther, Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie (Leipzig, 1895), p. 116. Hereafter cited as Golther. Cf. Friedrich Ranke, Volksforschung, Vorträge und Aufsätze (Breslau, 1935), p. 48. Hereafter cited as Ranke, Volksforschung. The Hofbauer is evidently suffering from asthma. Cf. G (VI, 291) where Storm says that the "Nachtmahr" is believed to have ridden Junker Rolf's horse nearly to death.

[6]Wuttke, sec. 147.

tried in court.[1] However, Renate's behavior also causes her to be suspected of being a witch "in her own right." The people associate her with the dark shadow that moves with the will-o-the-wisp over the moor (R, V, 115), and believe that she is calling the evil spirits (when she calls her father who was presumably drowned in the moor) and interpret the echoes as answers. This will-o-the-wisp is supposed to have driven Peter Goldschmidt's horse into the moor (R, V, 102) and to have frightened Held Carstens' team (R, V, 115). The belief in the will-o-the-wisp is common, even today, especially in districts that lie near the swampy moors of northern Germany.[2] Storm himself reports in his "Zerstreute Kapitel" the incident from Goldschmidt's Höllischer Morpheus where Goldschmidt's horse is frightened by a mysterious chariot.[3] Moreover, Renate is said to have embraced one evening a large black emaciated dog (R, V, 130). Actually the dog is her long lost pet supposedly stolen by Gypsies (R, V, 84-85), but regarded as an incarnation of the devil. Müllenhoff gives us an example of this common belief.[4] Furthermore, when the village boys, whom Renate has scorned, wish to take the law into their own hands and drown her in the pond, when she escapes through Josias' aid, she is said to have escaped by walking on the water (R, V, 130). Here Storm refers to the general superstition that witches will not drown, but will float or walk on the water,[5] the belief being that water, as God's element, will not receive a person in league with the devil, but will reject him.[6] It was a common practice in Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in witch trials to throw the accused into the

---

[1]Sach, Deutsches leben, II, 481. The relatives of midwives, to whom supernatural power was ascribed, were often suspected of witchcraft; it is hardly a coincidence that the relative of a midwife is burned at the stake in AS (IV, 323) and that in Storm's Novelle Draussen im Heidedorf (III, 230-1) the daughter of the midwife is accused of being a Werwolf.

[2]Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 81. Wuttke, sec. 495. Müllenhoff, Nos. 294-95.

[3]Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," p. 469.

[4]Müllenhoff, No. 320. Golther, p. 117.

[5]Müllenhoff, No. 523.

[6]Jakob Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1922), II, 582 f.

water, to see whether she would sink or float.[1] Renate is also believed to have ridden across the heath to Ostenfeld to visit Josias (R, V, 134). There are in folk tradition many tales of a witch riding a horse;[2] Storm alludes to them when the sexton in G (VI, 205) believes that he sees a witch ride by in the night. The accuracy with which Storm reproduces folk belief is also seen in the fact that Renate's horse is described by the people of Schwabstedte as very black (gnidderswart) and by those of Ostenfeld as gray (R, V, 71, 134). People of different communities have different versions of a tale.

In his Chroniknovellen, Storm also alludes to the common belief that witches churn and steal butter and cream.[3] Thus the people of Grieshuus hear a mysterious scraping as if some one were skimming the milk (G, VI, 250).

It is a general belief that man has to protect himself against evil spirits and especially against the devil. The word of God is the chief weapon.[4] Hence the first thing the sexton does instinctively when he claims to see a witch ride by is to say, "Alle guten Geister" (G, VI, 205), a phrase commonly used as a charm against evil spirits.[5] This belief is, furthermore, expressed in the prayer that Held Carstens offers when he sees the will-o-the-wisp (R, V, 115).[6] Even in the House of God man needs protection against the devil; we infer this from the conversation of the tailor's widow with Josias, who has just been rescued from the attack of a dog in the church. She says it was fortunate that he had heard God's word that morning, else it would have been too dangerous to pass by the devil, who often lurked

---

[1]Stemann, Schleswigs recht, pp. 58, 249.

[2]Müllenhoff, Nos. 335, 527, 528, etc. Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 144. Wuttke, sec. 215.

[3]Müllenhoff, Nos. 355, 452. Wuttke, sec. 151.

[4]HwbdA, Vol. I (1927), col. 1219. Müllenhoff, Nos. 217, 305 (1 a., 4.), 308, 409.

[5]Müllenhoff, No. 446. Storm uses the abbreviation of the longer form: "Alle guten Geister loben Gott den Herrn." Cf. Karl Bartsch, Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche aus Mecklemburg (Wien, 1879), II, 127. Hereafter cited as Bartsch, Sagen. Ranke, Volksforschung, p. 103.

[6]Müllenhoff, No. 217.

under the baptismal font (R, V, 77). Here we clearly see that Storm was thoroughly acquainted with the superstitions current in his native Schleswig-Holstein; he runs contrary to Wuttke who claims that the devil never appears in the church.[1] As a matter of fact, the devil does appear in churches in Schleswig-Holstein. There is a general superstition, to be sure, that he dislikes the sound of the church bell,[2] but he enters the church in Schleswig-Holstein at will.[3]

Burning candles are used to protect the dying[4] and the dead[5] against evil spirits. In accordance with this belief Hans Ravenstrupp H (VII, 61) places a candle in the hands of his dying daughter. The burning candles around the coffins of Master Gerhardus in AS (IV, 273) and of Junker Rolf and the old hunter in G (VI, 288) allude to an old superstition that had become a custom by the early eighteenth century.

All spirits have names in folk tradition and to pronounce the name of a spirit is to summon it.[6] For example, in Grimm's Deutsche Sagen, No. 194, the devil appears when the man pronounces the name of the devil. Because of this belief, the folk in referring to evil spirits use expressions that are not "names." Accordingly the laborers in H (VII, 43) speak of the devil as Gottseibeiuns.[7] Josias believes that the devil may be summoned by pronouncing his name, as is shown by his words to Renate

---

[1]Wuttke, sec. 188. He states that the cross-road and the church are the extremes of the devil's power, that he is always at the cross-road, but never in the church.

[2]Brüder Grimm, Deutsche Sagen (4th ed.; Berlin, 1905), ed. by Reinhold Steig, No. 202. Hereafter cited as Grimm, Sagen. Ulrich Jahn, Volkssagen aus Pommern und Rügen (Stettin, 1886), No. 495. Hereafter cited as Jahn.

[3]Müllenhoff, Nos. 234(3), 308. Jahn, No. 495. Grimm, Sagen, Nos. 194, 202.

[4]Paul Sartori, "Feuer und Licht im Totengebrauche," Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde (before 1928, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, XVII (1907), 362. The article will hereafter be cited as Sartori, "Feuer und Licht."

[5]Ibid., pp. 364, 368.

[6]Grimm, Sagen, No. 194. Wuttke, sec. 74. Heckscher, Volkskunde, pp. 102, 365.

[7]Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 118. Otto Schell, Bergische Sagen (Elberfeld, 1897), No. 91.

(R, V, 110): "Berufe ihn nicht, Renate!" Hennicke silences his drinking companion who speaks about death, with these words (E, V, 232): "Schweig, Wulf! Ruf den Tod dir in dein eigen Haus!" Inasmuch as some animals like the wolf are believed to be the devil in disguise, people do not pronounce their names. In Sweden the wolf is referred to as der Graubein and in Mecklemburg as der Grau.[1] We see a vestige of this belief in G (VI, 242) where the laborers speak of the wolf as de grise Hund (G, VI, 242) and Junker Rolf uses the expression along with the word Wolf (G, VI, 252).

Storm in several instances refers to the common belief[2] that spirits, whose purpose it is to harm man, actually appear. Thus the old governess (H, VII, 34) warns Dagmar against the evil spirits, the Unholden, who live in the earth and might harm her in the garden. In H (VII, 53) we find an example of the common superstition that a human soul may assume the form of a wolf[3] or a red mouse[4] when Gaspard, the jester, says: "Es springt ein Wolf, auch eine rote Maus uns in den Weg." Rolf's expression about Dagmar, "Das kind hat mir die Seele ausgetrunken" (H, VII, 66), may be a vestige of the belief in the vampire.[5]

The spot where a murder was committed is not considered safe at the time of the anniversary of the crime,[6] because the spirit of the victim seeks revenge even to the extent of harming an innocent person who might pass by.[7] Accordingly in G (VI, 259-

---

[1] Heckscher, Volkskunde, pp. 365-66. Wuttke, sec. 74.

[2] Müllenhoff, Nos. 444-45. Usually these spirits harm man only if they are molested. Cf. A. Kuhn and W. Schwarz, Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklemburg, der Mark, Sachsen, Thüringen, Braunschweig, Hannover, Oldenburg und Westfahlen (Leipzig, 1848), Nos. 106, 329. Hereafter cited as Kuhn und Schwarz. Jahn, No. 65.

[3] Müllenhoff, Nos. 371(1-3), 372-73. The appearance of the soul as Werwolf is very common in the folklore of Schleswig-Holstein. Cf. Jahn, Nos. 483-94. Wuttke, sec. 407.

[4] Golther, p. 82. Here the soul takes on the form of a red mouse.

[5] H. Wolff, "La Philosophie de Storm," Revue de L'enseignement des Langues vivantes, LIII (1936), 389. Robert Pitrou, La vie et l'oeuvre de Theodor Storm (Paris, 1920), p. 469.

[6] Müllenhoff, No. 271. Cf. ibid., No. 272.

[7] Ibid., No. 248.

60) Fiedelfritz is attacked by such a spirit during the danger period and never recovers from the shock. Moreover, Storm has Junker Hinrich's wife Bärbe die in childbirth (G, VI, 238-40) on the anniversary of that fateful day, on which Junker Hinrich had killed his brother Detlev, and years later on the same day Junker Rolf and the hunter, the only remaining heirs of Grieshuus, die (G, VI, 280). The scene of the crime in G is marked by a large stone and is referred to by Storm as "beim Stein" (G, VI, 270, 287). Even though this stone was already there at the time of murder (G, VI, 240) Storm's repeated references to "beim Stein" is very likely an allusion to the general belief that the body of the victim had to be covered with a stone or with earth. Even the murderer would appease the spirit of the victim by covering the body with a stone.[1] The instances where a stone marks the place in which a murder has been committed are numerous in the folklore of Schleswig-Holstein.[2] Here, too, Storm incorporates local folk belief accurately.

In a letter to Gottfried Keller, Storm points out that the belief in the phenomenon of second sight is especially common to North Germany.[3] Thus we are not surprised to find a number of allusions to second sight in the Chroniknovellen. In G (VI, 258), Matten foresees the tragedy of Grieshuus and prophesies that Junker Rolf and the hunter will both lose their lives (G, VI, 283) and that the pastor will outlive all the rest (G, VI, 258). Mother Siebenzig claims that one of the pastor's family will die because she has seen white sheets flying over the house. Whereas such occurrences of second sight are very common, Storm mentions two points about second sight that are not generally known. In G (VI, 241) he says that the prophesy will not come true, if divulged. Storm's statement is unsupported in folk belief, because in no case is the fulfillment of the prophesy prevented by the fact that it is made known beforehand. Wuttke, however, does report the belief for Westphalia.[4] Storm must have been acquainted with it

---

[1]Kuhn und Schwarz, p. 36. Müllenhoff, Nos. 72(2), 179; cf. Nos. 46, 217.

[2]Müllenhoff, Nos. 46, 72, 217, 424(3).

[3]Köster, Briefwechsel, p. 146. "Mitteilungen," Die Heimat, XXXII (1922), 154. Müllenhoff, Nos. 286, 402.

[4]Wuttke, sec. 322. In G (VI, 258, 283) Matten divulges what she foresees and yet the events come true.

or with a similar one in Schleswig-Holstein. In regard to Matten, Storm says that blind or partially blind people have the gift of second sight. That statement cannot be taken at face value, for Matten had the gift when her eyes were still young and strong. It is true, however, that all of Storm's other seers are old and partially blind.[1] This agrees with general belief, for aged and partially blind people are said to develop an inner sight.[2]

Storm also makes use of the superstition that the future can be determined by omens.[3] The old governess in H (VII, 15) is sure that the thirteen cows that died and the blood that ran out of a fresh loaf of bread foreshadow disaster. Then, too, in H (VII, 49) when the thunder rolls over Dagmar and Rolf just as they have assured each other that their love will end happily, Rolf wants to dispel the impression this bad omen has made on Dagmar by saying: "Gott hats gehört!"

The general belief that the spirits of ancestors protect their descendants,[4] we find expressed in Storm's Chroniknovellen. The deceased mother of Junker Detlev walks the floor and peers out of the window in search of her unhappy child (E, V, 257); later when the returned son is in danger of being murdered, it is the dead mother that breaks the strength of the would-be assassin (E, V, 271).[5] The fact that the deceased Benedikte is believed to frighten the servants on the stairs and in the hall is perhaps an allusion to this superstition (E, V, 259).

The ancestors influence their descendants particularly through their pictures, for the image of a person is one with the person it portrays.[6] Thus the mother of Detlev exerts her power

---

[1]The old gentleman in Storm's In St. Jürgen (III, 77), who foresees, is blind, and the seers in Der Schimmelreiter (VIII, 363), in Hans und Heinz Kirch (VI, 119-20) and in AS (IV, 324-25) are all old and have impaired eyesight.

[2]Ersch und Gruber, Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste, XI-XII (1834-1835), 25. Hereafter cited as Ersch und Gruber. Cf. Jahn, No. 501.

[3]Wuttke, secs. 74, 267. Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 102.

[4]HwbdA, Vol. I (1927), col. 232. Müllenhoff, No. 529.

[5]Storm there follows rather closely Adalbert von Chamisso's poem, "Geist der Mutter." Cf. Chamissos Werke, "Goldene Klassiker Bibliotek" (Berlin, 1909), II, 75. Rockenbach, p. 49.

[6]HwbdA, Vol. I (1927), col. 1248. Kuhn und Schwarz, No. 164.

through her portrait on the wall (E, V, 257). This portrait is identified with her person to the extent that it possesses even greater strength than she had during her life. She is believed actually to have stepped from the frame (E, V, 257). It is likely that Storm knew this to be actual folk belief, even though there does not seem to be a documented parallel for this particular incident. Storm himself contributed to the Müllenhoff collection the story about the picture of the knight who blushed when one looked at him intently.[1]

From their stationary position on the wall the ancestors are believed to influence the living with their eyes.[2] In AS (IV, 287) the eyes of the ancestress look so coldly and forbiddingly upon the love of Johannes and Katharina, that the latter says: "Lass uns nicht trotzen, mein Johannes." Evil power is most commonly ascribed to the red and burning eyes of the witch. Through them she is believed to exert her influence.[3] When Mother Pottsacksch wishes to impress the fact that Renate actually had been a witch, she stresses her burning eyes (R, V, 71). Good eyes, on the other hand, are ascribed to benevolent people, saints, kings, and gods.[4] Detlev and Heilwig can see the kindly eyes of Detlev's mother in the dark (E, V, 267); these same eyes have caused the evil Hennicke to drop the knife with which he wished to destroy her picture and with it her influence (E, V, 257). The power of the good eye of the Virgin is alluded to in H (VII, 16). When the old governess can no longer see the eyes of the Virgin, because the pall of the Black Death covers everything, she cries out in despair: "O heilige Jungfrau, deine Augen! Wo sind deine Augen?"

Birds are frequently believed to be spirits or the messengers of spirits, and as such their appearance is significant.[5] The superstition that the finch or the blackbird announces death

---

[1] Müllenhoff, No. 228. Storm saw this picture in the castle of Husum.

[2] S. Seligmann, Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen (Hamburg, 1922), pp. 18-19, 221. Hereafter cited as Seligmann.

[3] Ibid., p. 234. Wuttke, sec. 395.

[4] HwbdA, Vol. I (1927), col. 690. Seligmann, pp.221, 450.

[5] Ibid.

is widespread. The bird usually flies around the house where death is to strike.[1] In Storm's E (V, 233) it is a family tradition that the finch which is painted on the hand of the ancestress leaves its perch at the time when a death is imminent to sing its song outside the house (E, V, 235). The death of Dagmar (H, VII, 59) is announced by the blackbird; by its song Dagmar knows that her hour has come, even though her father says that the blackbird's song also announces life. Storm reflects here the common belief that the song of the blackbird can be variously interpreted; commonly the blackbird symbolizes death only when it sings on the fence.[2]

Gratopp has discussed the magic meaning ascribed to the magpie.[3] It will therefore be necessary to mention only a few of Storm's many allusions to this superstition about the magpie. Constant screaming and croaking of magpies or crows near a house indicates that one of the family is in league with the devil.[4] Accordingly Storm's statement in R (V, 114) that an unusually large number of magpies fly about the Hofbauer's house on the day he loses his life is representative of this common belief. That a flock of black crows takes possession of the trees of Eekenhof as soon as Junker Detlev, who stands for kindness and virtue, has departed, signifies that now only evil dwells there.[5] In some instances Storm ascribes to living characters characteristics of birds that symbolize evil spirits. Gaspard, the jester of Haderslevhuus (H, VII, 9) has characteristics of the raven. He has a nose that resembles a bird's beak (H, VII, 9) and when he warns Wulfhild of impending evil, Storm says: "Der Rabe hat gekrächzt" (H, VII, 12). It suggests the belief that people with the features of birds possess demonic qualities.[6] The owl is

---

[1] HwbdA, Vol. II (1929-30), col. 1508. E. L. Rochholz, Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit (Berlin, I, 153. Hereafter cited as Rochholz.

[2] Wuttke, sec. 205. HwbdA, Vol. I (1927), col. 372.

[3] Gratopp, p. 60.

[4] Heckscher, Volkskunde, pp. 77, 121, 132.

[5] Kuhn und Schwarz, No. 391.

[6] HwbdA, Vol. VIII (1936-37), col. 995.

associated with the devil[1] and with death.[2] Thus little Abel says in G (VI, 267) to the owl: "Flieg doch zu deinen Teufeln." And when Wulfhild (H, VII, 29) hears the cry of the owl she thinks she sees the face of her first husband, whom she poisoned. In AS (IV, 268-69) Katharina compares the wicked Kurt von der Risch with the owl; she speaks of him as a Buchz (owl). Like Gaspard in H (VII, 9) Kurt also has a nose that resembles a bird's beak (AS, IV, 268).

In popular tradition a white bird often represents a saved soul. There are in the folklore of especially northern Germany many examples of souls ascending to heaven in the form of white birds, usually that of doves.[3] Storm alludes to this belief in R (V, 135) where a white bird flies heavenward from the hand of dead Josias.

That the nightingale is consistently a symbol of love in the Chroniknovellen is in accordance with general tradition.[4] In H (VII, 25) the song of the nightingale guides Rolf Lembeck to the garden of Haderslevhuus where he meets Dagmar. And when Dagmar enters the garden, the song of the nightingale greets her (H, VII, 35). It is heard again when the lovers embrace (H, VII, 37).[5] The song of the nightingale reminds Johannes of his love for Katharina (AS, IV, 313). Storm uses the nightingale even as the protector of love (AS, IV, 295), for its song calls Johannes to the ivy vine by means of which he ascends into Katharina's room and thus escapes the blood hounds which are hard on his trail.

Storm alludes several times to the belief in the marriage of a mortal and a supernatural being.[6] In the Middle Ages stories

---

[1]Wuttke, sec. 165.

[2]R. Wossidlo, Mecklemburgische Volksüberlieferungen (Wismar, 1899), II, 135.

[3]Müllenhoff, Nos. 362, 529. Jahn, No. 502.

[4]J. Uhland, Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder mit Abhandlungen und Anmerkungen (Stuttgart, 1844), No. 15A. and B. Cf. Wilhelm Gadow, Eule und Nachtigall, Neuausgabe des mittelenglischen Streitgedichtes, diss. (Berlin, 1907), p. 78. Here the nightingale says that its duty is to sing of love.

[5]That Dagmar fears the nightingale will die in its efforts and asks, "O, kann man auch vor Liebe sterben?" may hint at her impending death.

[6]Cf. Paul Sebillot, Le Folklore de France (Paris, 1904),

of such marriages were popular. Charlemagne is said to have lived in the forest with a beautiful fairy.[1] And the Staufenberger married an invisible woman who caused his death when he became unfaithful.[2] An example of this belief we find in H (VII, 22) where Ravenstrupp's wife is said to be so beautiful that his father jestingly warns him that she may be a fairy and leave him. Moreover, Rolf Lembeck says to Dagmar in admiration: "Als seiest Du mein holder Schattengeist, von dem die alten Mären sagen, zwischen Lilien aus dem Mondscheinsee zu mir aufgestiegen" (H, VII, 48). It is possible that this comparison of Dagmar to a sprite foreshadows the unhappy end of Rolf and Dagmar's love.

Storm makes use of the common superstition that various kinds of oracles tell who one's lover is and whether a lover is faithful.[3] Thus when Gaspard tolerates Wulfhild's hand on his cheek, she infers from this that Rolf Lembeck is not rejecting her, but that he is being attracted to another (H, VII, 31). I could not find any documentation for this particular oracle for the fourteenth century or modern times, but it is not unlikely that Storm, who in other cases is so accurate, knew of just such an oracle. There are, however, other oracles recorded in which the hand is involved, as for example, the belief that one's future sweetheart is a relative of the person with whom one shakes hands after having counted a definite number of stars on successive evenings.[4]

That Wulfhild seeks to retain her husbands love by wearing Ginevra's belt with the ruby that possesses the magic power of ensuring happiness (H, VII, 29), alludes to the fact that magic belts were worn during the Middle Ages to ensure the wearer's happiness.[5] Here we see again how carefully Storm studied his

---

I, 443. F. X. Schönwerth, Sitten und Sagen aus der Oberpfalz (Augsburg, 1858), II, 178.

[1]Rochholz, I, 97. [2]Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[3]Cf. Hermann Heinrich Ploss, Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde (Leipzig, 1895), II, 613. Cf. Storm's Novelle, Unter dem Tannenbaum (II, 242).

[4]HwbdA, Vol. III (1930-31), col. 1402. The expression "Kalte Hände, heisse Liebe" may go back to this belief; cf. Karl Wander, Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon (Leipzig, 1867), II, 303, No. 230.

[5]Ersch und Gruber, XCVII (1878), 387.

sources; he refers to an incident in Wigalois.[1]

A few minor points of folk belief remain to be considered. The midwife in E (V, 235) thinks that the smile on the lips of the dead mother indicates that she will soon return for the baby. This belief is quite common.[2]

Johannes' words about little Johannes, who is really his own son (AS, IV, 319), "So dachte ich, sieht ein Kind, das unter einem kummerschweren Herzen aufgewachsen ...," reflect the idea that the mental and physical condition of a child is determined by that of the mother during pregnancy.[3]

---

[1]Wirnt von Gravenberc, Wigalois, der Ritter mit dem Rade, "Rheinische beiträge und hülfsbücher zur germanischen philologie," ed. by J. M. N. Kapteyn, Vol.IX (1926), ll. 324-44 describe the belt and ll. 565-70 state that the ruby contains the magic power. Cf. Ersch und Gruber, XCVII (1878), 387.

[2]Wuttke, secs. 297-98.

[3]HwbdA, Vol. VII (1935-36), col. 1417-18. Wuttke, sec. 571.

CHAPTER IV

MODES OF COIFFURE AND COSTUMES

Modes of Coiffure

In discussing Storm's use of coiffure and costumes of the fourteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it is well to bear in mind that Germany maintained a very close relationship with its neighbors, so that its modes of coiffure and costumes, especially during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, were greatly influenced by the styles of coiffure and costumes which were popular in these countries. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish styles influenced the modes of coiffure and costumes in Schleswig-Holstein as in Germany, and in the latter part of the seventeenth[1] and tne early part of the eighteenth centuries the French influence predominated.[2]

Wulfhild wears her long golden hair flowing loosely over her shoulders (H, VII, 5, 6-7, 50). This is in conformity with the style of coiffure in vogue in the fourteenth century.[3] Since men of the Middle Ages also wore long hair, Rolf Lembeck is described correctly as pushing back his long blond hair when he meets Charles IV in Prague.[4] In the seventeenth century women

---

[1]Friedrich Hottenroth, Deutsche Volkstrachten vom XVI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert (2d ed.; Frankfurt a.M., 1923), II, 174, 175, 184. Hereafter cited as Hottenroth.

[2]Henne am Rhyn, Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes (2d ed.; Berlin, 1892-93), II, 459. Hereafter cited as Henne am Rhyn. Styles changed more slowly in small cities and rural communities. Karl Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung aus der Zeit von 1450-1750" (Annaberg, 1883), II, 2. Hereafter cited as Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung."

[3]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 611. W. Quincke, Handbuch der Kostümkunde (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1908) (Ill. 72), p. 117. Hereafter cited as Quincke.

[4]Quincke, p. 117. Long hair indicated that the person was born free. Cf. Weinhold, II, 25.

wore their hair braided.[1] In accordance with this custom Katharina (AS, IV, 267, 296), Heilwig (E, V, 258, 265), Bärbe (G, VI, 216, 236), and Abel (G, VI, 268) all wear their hair braided. However, at the end of the seventeenth century the French pompadour became popular among the nobility.[2] Thus Junker Detlev's betrothed has her hair arranged in this fashion for the ball in Gottorp (G, VI, 223).

Inasmuch as Detlev's betrothed is the only character in the Chroniknovellen whom Storm describes as using cosmetics, this is perhaps the place to mention the use of the special kind of powder, the powder of Cyprus, which became popular in the latter half of the seventeenth century. When Junker Hinrich refers to Detlev's betrothed as a painted Jesebel (G, VI, 223) he has in mind that she uses the new powder which had as one of its ingredients the reddish soil from the island of Cyprus.[3]

In the seventeenth century most men of noble birth[4] as well as those of the lower classes in Schleswig-Holstein wore short hair. Thus the old Junker of Grieshuus (G, VI, 226), Junker Rolf of Grieshuus (G, VI, 278), Hennicke of Eekenhof (E, V, 237), the returning Junker Detlev of Eekenhof (E, V, 261) as well as the Hofbauer in R (V, 92) wear short hair. We see, however, in Storm's Chroniknovellen the growing popularity of long hair or wigs for fashionable men of the nobility at the end of the seventeenth century.[5] Accordingly Junker Detlev of Eekenhof who re-

---

[1]Johann Lauremberg, "Niederdeutsche Scherzgedichte," ed. W. Braune, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, XVI-XVII (Halle, 1879), II, 23, l. 260. I shall refer to the second and third Scherzgedichte as Lauremberg II and III. Hottenroth, II, 192, 194.

[2]Henne am Rhyn, II, 548.

[3]Cf. Lauremberg, II, 28, 120, l. 441.

[4]A. Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben der Europäischen Kulturvölker vom Mittelalter bis zur zweiten Hälfte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts (München-Berlin, 1903), in "Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte," IV, 250. Hereafter cited as Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben.

[5]Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung," p. 7. Even the poorer people wished to wear long hair, but laws were passed to prevent this. Frithjof Willem Sophi von Thienen, Studien zur Kostümgeschichte der Blütezeit Hollands (Berlin, 1929), pp. 84, 104. Hereafter cited as Von Thienen. Cf. Harry Schmidt, "Die bildlichen Darstellungen des Kanzlers Johann Adolf von Kielmannsege," ZfSchl-HG, IL (1919), 284.

turns from the city (E, V, 248), Johannes in AS (IV, 265), and Junker Rolf in G (VI, 260), who have lived in Holland and Sweden respectively, wear long hair when they return home. Likewise Junker Detlev of Grieshuus, who is associated with chancellor Kielmannsege in Gottorp, wears long hair (G, VI, 206) and when Hennicke of Eekenhof is looking for a new wife, his short hair puts him at a disadvantage with the marriageable daughters who much prefer the gentlemen with the French wig to Hennicke with his short hair (E, V, 237). A wig is also worn by the legal administrator of the will of Grieshuus (G, VI, 232). Long hair was consistently worn by clergymen.[1] Thus the pastors in AS (IV, 314) and G (VI, 226) wear long hair.

There are in Storm's Chroniknovellen several allusions to the kinds of beards or moustaches which men wore during the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. Through the influence of the Luxemburg emperors, especially that of Charles IV, the moustache was brought into fashion during the fourteenth century.[2] Storm correctly presents in H Ravenstrupp (VII, 54) and his servant who invites Rolf Lembeck to the wedding (VII, 64) as wearing moustaches. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Protestant clergymen wore beards, and soldiers moustaches.[3] Hence Storm's description of the pastor in AS (IV, 260) and of the soldiers in G (VI, 209) is historically accurate. Storm is aware of the fact that the moustache was very popular during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries[4] because he describes in G the soldiers (VI, 209) and the hunter Owe Heikens (VI, 222), and in AS Junker Wulf (IV, 276) as wearing moustaches. Whether or not during this period the beard (Backenbart) was popular with the nobility of Schleswig-Holstein, I do not know.[5] Storm has Junker Detlev wear a beard (Backenbart) when

---

[1]Von Thienen, p. 105.

[2]A. Kretschmer und K. Rohrbach, Trachten der Völker vom Beginn der Geschichte bis zum 19. Jahrhundert in 104 Tafeln Zusammengestellt, Gezeichnet und Lithographiert (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1906), p. 221. Hereafter cited as Kretschmer und Rohrbach.

[3]Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 250.

[4]Lauremberg, II, 24, l. 281. Quincke, p. 176. Kretschmer und Rohrbach, pp. 300-1.

[5]Cf. Hans Naumann, Deutsche Volkskunde in Grundrügen

he returns from his journeys abroad (R, V, 261). The Junker may, of course, have adopted a foreign custom.

Costumes

Hair nets, usually of silk, were worn both in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] Dagmar (H, VII, 39) and Katharina (AS, IV, 269, 271) wear them.

Girls of the nobility in the Middle Ages often wore silver or gold coronets in their hair.[2] This custom is referred to in H (VII, 21). Dagmar receives from her father a silver coronet and wears it constantly. The popularity of jewelry among people of noble birth during the Middle Ages[3] is also alluded to in H (VII, 54) where Rolf Lembeck has gold buttons on his dress coat. That jewelry was worn to excess during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries[4] is reflected in Storm's Chroniknovellen. Detlev's betrothed wears all kinds of jewelry and chains for the ball at Gottorp (G, VI, 223). And when Bärbe, although of the lower class, wears a gold pin in her hair while attending church with her husband, Junker Hinrich, we read that only the nobility were allowed to wear such a pin (G, VI, 236). This is historically accurate, for especially in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries laws were passed to control the amount of jewelry a person might wear according to his rank.[5] That the lower classes aped the modes of dress of the nobility is also apparent in the case of the Hofbauer (R, V, 93) who wears silver buttons on his coat.

Since shawls and caps were commonly worn during the Middle Ages,[6] the old governess in H (VII, 34) correctly wears a cap and

---

(Leipzig, 1935), p. 14. Hereafter cited as Naumann. Kretschmer und Rohrbach, p. 301.

[1]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 239. Quincke, pp. 142, 157, 167.

[2]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 237-39, 242. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 404.

[3]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 277. Kretschmer und Rohrbach, p. 224.

[4]Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung," p. 29. Kretschmer und Rohrbach, pp. 250, 256.

[5]Ibid. [6]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 283.

a shawl over her cap. In AS (IV, 313) Storm refers to the shawls which the women of Ostenfeld wear on market days. He found a description of these shawls in Lass' chronicle.[1] That Storm was aware of the fact that a shawl was the appropriate headdress for unmarried women[2] we see in G where Abel (VI, 279), Bärbe (VI, 239), and Matten (VI, 258), all of whom are unmarried, wear shawls. Caps were as popular as shawls.[3] Thus Katharina (AS, IV, 274), and Marike (R, V, 88) wear black caps and Renate (R, V, 82) has on a red cap. Moreover, elaborate caps were (and are still) commonly worn in Schleswig-Holstein.[4] In accordance with this, Bärbe's rich relative from the city (G, VI, 208) wears a fancy cap. And Renate, not to be outdone by the village maidens who wear fancy caps on Sunday, knits herself one. In R (V, 82) Storm speaks of the elaborate crown which was commonly worn by the brides of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[5]

A cowl (Gugelkappe) which Storm has Gaspard, the jester, wear (H, VII, 9) was a well-known head wear for men during the Middle Ages.[6] Rolf Lembeck, however, uses an ordinary cap (H, VII, 27), which was also well known.[7] In the seventeenth century caps were worn chiefly by the working classes,[8] as in the case of the hunter in G (VI, 254). Much more popular during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for all classes was the Spanish hat.[9] It is likely that the high and pointed hat worn by the grain accountant in G (VI, 208) is a Spanish hat. A tricorn such as Peter Goldschmidt wears in R (V, 105) was popular in the early part of the eighteenth century.[10]

---

[1] Cf. Müller, p. 46. She claims that Storm used Lass, I, 133 as a source. A. Kretschmer, Deutsche Volkstrachten. Originalzeichnungen mit erklärendem Text (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1887-90), p. 6. (Fig. 6.) Hereafter cited as Kretschmer, Deutsche Volkstrachten.

[2] G. Storm, I, 35. [3] Hottenroth, II, 109, 144, 176.

[4] Ibid., II, 177, 198-99. Naumann, p. 21. Rockenbach, p. 37. She claims that Storm got this information from Voss' church chronicle of Ostenfeld.*

[5] Hottenroth, II, 177, 198-99.

[6] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 305. [7] Ibid., pp. 279, 303.

[8] Naumann, p. 14. [9] Ibid.

[10] Kretschmer und Rohrbach, p. 312 (Ill. 95, 10-12).

Ever since the Middle Ages it was fashionable for both men and women to wear a feather on hat or cap.[1] Thus in H (VII, 27) Rolf Lembeck has a vulture feather on his cap. That Storm knew the feather to be popular during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[2] is shown by the fact that Johannes (AS, IV, 275), Junker Hinrich (G, VI, 206) and little Junker Rolf of Grieshuus (G, VI, 251) wear feathers on their hats or caps. Women as well as men considered the feather fashionable.[3] It is, no doubt, for this reason that Storm describes the ancestress in E (V, 229) as having a feather on her hat.

Woolen dresses were popularly worn by women of the Middle Ages for every day wear.[4] Thus Wulfhild wears a woolen dress (H, VII, 6). Black taffeta was a dress material that was used by the well-to-do of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[5] In accordance with this Renate who is superior to the other village girls wears a dress of this material (R, V, 82).[6] The red jackets of the girls of Ostenfeld attract the attention of Johannes (AS, IV, 313); Storm found a description of these costumes of Ostenfeld in Lass' chronicle.[7]

In the fourteenth century the nobility wore very expensive garments. Coats of imported taffeta were not uncommon.[8] Rolf Lembeck wears a coat of embroidered taffeta (H, VII, 36). The old governess has a heavy marten pelt (H, VII, 38), the most popular of all furs during the Middle Ages.[9]

---

[1] Ibid., p. 222.

[2] Ibid., p. 302. Hottenroth, II, 183. Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 274.

[3] Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 274.

[4] Ibid., I, 506. Much of the wool was imported from Holland.

[5] Kretschmer, Deutsche Volkstrachten, p. 6. Cf. Lauremberg, II, l. 33.

[6] Storm speaks of Renate's dress material as Seidentaffet fort. It is not clear what fort after Seidentaffet means. Fort might be a postpositive adjective meaning "strong," so that it would perhaps refer to the quality of the cloth. Since of those available to me only the Köster edition has fort, it might also be that the printer made an error.

[7] Müller, pp. 45-46. G. Storm, I, 35.

[8] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 307. [9] Ibid., p. 271.

Not only for the style of dress, but also for the color worn did the rank of an individual play an important part. Storm says in AS (IV, 264) that the nobility wore more conservative clothes than the lower classes. This statement is true of the seventeenth century.[1] Johannes who belongs to the middle class attracts attention with his loud coat when he returns from Holland (AS, IV, 275). It was chiefly students and soldiers who wore bright colored clothes.[2] Thus Storm describes soldiers in G (VI, 209) and Josias, the student, in R (V, 83) as wearing red coats.

The leather coat was worn chiefly by the working classes during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but also occasionally by the nobility.[3] Storm suggests this usage when Junker Kurt (AS, IV, 269) as well as the old hunter in G (VI, 253) wears a leather coat.

Storm also mentions in his Chroniknovellen the type of trousers men wore. In G (VI, 253) the relative of the colonel wears wide baggy trousers. Such wide trousers were popular in Germany in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[4] Moreover, wide trousers were fastened by means of garters to woolen stockings.[5] Accordingly Junker Detlev of Grieshuus wears garters (G, VI, 206), and the sexton in AS (IV, 314) wears long woolen stockings to which presumably his baggy trousers are fastened. More modern than these garters and baggy trousers were the frilly cuffs on sleeves which became popular near the end of the seventeenth century.[6] Storm has Junker Detlev of Grieshuus wear such frilly cuffs (G, VI, 206).

White clothes were worn by the clergy of Schleswig-Holstein during the Middle Ages while saying mass.[7] Thus the priest who says mass at Dagmar's funeral wears a white robe (H, VII, 68). Moreover, the custom that the officiating minister had to wear a

---

[1] Von Thienen, p. 100. Cf. Lauremberg, III, ll. 57-58.

[2] Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, pp. 26, 274. Quincke, p. 227.

[3] Quincke, p. 178.

[4] Ibid., pp. 153, 179.

[5] Hottenroth, II, 184.

[6] Quincke, p. 186. Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung," p. 9.

[7] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 164.

white robe while administering the Lord's Supper was maintained in the Protestant Church of Schleswig-Holstein well into the eighteenth century.[1] It is, therefore, very likely that Storm refers to this white robe when he says that Johannes puts on the customary formal robe before he administers the Lord's Supper (R, V, 119).

Black clothes were worn during the Middle Ages by the clergy and by people in mourning.[2] Thus Storm describes the minister in G (VI, 226) as wearing a black robe in the pulpit. Furthermore, that in R (V, 86) the candidate for the ministry wears black is in accordance with seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century custom.[3] Johannes exchanges his loud coat for a black one as soon as he becomes definitely a candidate for the ministry. We note that the pastor in G (VI, 226) in the pulpit wears a little black cap. Inasmuch as the Protestant clergy of Schleswig-Holstein of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries retained much of the ritual of Catholic days,[4] the little black cap is, no doubt, originally the biretta worn by the Catholic clergy during church services.[5] Wulfhild wears black in mourning for her first husband (H, VII, 6); she also puts on a scapular which was worn by the so-called Third Order, that is, lay people, in cases of death or other great crises as early as the thirteenth century.[6] Rolf Lembeck and Hans Ravenstrupp as well as all the members of the household, except the priest, wear black[7] at Dagmar's funeral (H, VII, 68). As the women in R (V, 132-33) during the period of mourning[8] wear black while attending the Lord's Supper, so Katharina (AS, IV, 274), Ursula (AS, IV, 278), and Johannes (AS, IV, 280)

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Quincke, p. 137. Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 115. Here the congregation gives the minister black satin for a robe and a collar.

[3] Quincke, p. 137.

[4] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 164.

[5] The Catholic Encyclopedia, II (1907), 577.

[6] Ibid., XIII (1912), 509.

[7] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 285.

[8] Cf. Kobes, p. 29.

wear black in mourning for Master Gerhardus.

It is true that belts were very commonly worn as early as the Middle Ages, but the purpose which they served was not the same throughout the centuries. In the fourteenth century women's belts were as a rule very costly and were thus mostly ornaments.[1] Accordingly Wulfhild has a belt with a precious ruby (H, VII, 29) and Dagmar wears a belt of silver (H, VII, 33). In the fourteenth as well as in later centuries men's belts were used for carrying weapons and other necessary equipment.[2] Hence Storm describes Rolf Lembeck correctly as having his hunting knife fastened to his belt (H, VII, 36), and Junker Detlev of Eekenhof whom he has remove his pistols from his belt (E, V, 261). Women's belts, after the Middle Ages, served also the practical purpose of carrying necessary equipment.[3] Thus Benedikte (E, V, 248) and the old forester's widow (E, V, 264) wear keys on their belts.

Boots were still considered stylish footwear in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries among the middle classes, even though the nobility preferred shoes.[4] Storm pictures this style accurately when Josias (R, V, 78), the student, and the Hofbauer (R, V, 111) wear boots for all special occasions. However, even the lower classes began to prefer shoes to boots by the end of the seventeenth century.[5] Accordingly the sexton in AS (IV, 314) wears shoes with fancy leather clasps over the instep.[6] When Storm has Hans Christoph, the servant of Grieshuus,

---

[1]Ersch und Gruber, XCVII (1878), 383. Quincke, p. 117.

[2]Kretschmer and Rohrbach, Ill. 44. Steinhausen, I, 324.

[3]Alvin Schultz, Alltagsleben einer deutschen Frau zu Anfang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1890), p. 242. Hereafter cited as Schultz, Alltagsleben. Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung," p. 29. Cf. Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 277.

[4]Naumann, p. 14. Bartsch, "Sächsische Kleidung," p. 5.

[5]Ibid. Quincke, p. 190. His statement that only soldiers wore boots at the end of the seventeenth century is exaggerated. Cf. Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 253.

[6]Hottenroth, II, 183. Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 36. These clasps were often of silver or gold. Quincke, pp. 152, 192. The clasp had developed from the leather strap. Cf. J. Matthias, Der menschliche Schmuck, Form, Farbe und Anwendung (Leipzig, 1871), p. 86.

wear heavy nail shoes, he evidently has in mind the coarse work-shoe of the seventeenth century. The leather tops of these shoes were fastened to wooden soles by means of nails.[1]

The heavy walking cane as well as the knapsack was in the seventeenth and early eighteenth as in previous centuries an essential part of the traveller's outfit.[2] Hence Storm's description of Peter Goldschmidt (R, V, 105), Josias (V, 70), Johannes (AS, IV, 271), and Detlev of Eekenhof (E, V, 105) as using heavy walking sticks agrees with the custom of the time; Johannes and Detlev carry knapsacks as well as heavy walking canes.

---

[1] Naumann, p. 19. Hottenroth, III, 43.

[2] Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 288. Sach, Deutsches Leben, II, 518.

CHAPTER V

CUSTOMS

Social Customs

In this chapter I shall consider Storm's use of the customs of the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. For convenience I shall divide these into three groups: social, religious, and legal customs. Under the term social customs I shall include all of Storm's allusions to customs of a non-religious or non-legal nature. All customs that pertain in any way to the church will be considered as religious customs.

In H Storm refers repeatedly to the education which young men and young women of noble birth received during the fourteenth century. Rolf Lembeck, as was customary at that time,[1] studies under a private tutor (H, VII, 2). Furthermore, Storm says that Rolf learns to fence, to dance, to play the lute, and even to compose songs (H, VII, 2); a noble youth of the Middle Ages had to learn all these arts.[2] When Storm has Rolf Lembeck study at the Universities of Paris and Prague (H, VII, 2), he chooses the centers of learning which young men from Schleswig-Holstein would most probably attend during the fourteenth century, for young nobles of Schleswig-Holstein studied at Paris about that time and the new University of Prague attracted many students from all the continent as early as the year 1350.[3]

Storm also makes use of the custom that young men of noble birth were placed in the homes of knights to learn the essentials of knighthood. This was especially true of sons who had no prospect of inheriting their father's estates and thus had to seek their fortunes elsewhere.[4] Gehrt Bookwald becomes the page of Rolf Lembeck, the imperial knight of Charles IV (H, VII, 28, 50). Storm describes correctly the duties a page had to perform. He

---

[1] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 157.

[2] Ibid., I, 164-65; ibid., pp. 549-50. Weinhold, II, 162-64.

[3] Waitz, I, 117. [4] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 170.

had to announce the guests of his lord and lady.[1] Thus Gehrt announces Ravenstrupp to Wulfhild (H, VII, 50). He serves a visitor with food and drink (H, VII, 65).[2] The young nobleman was ordinarily knighted by the knight he had served, or by the king.[3] Accordingly Rolf Lembeck (H, VII, 4) is knighted by Charles IV who has learned to admire him.

The pride of the knight was his horse. It is significant that Rolf Lembeck always rides a stallion (H, VII, 10, 13, 24, 41, 51), for a knight thought it degrading to ride a mare.[4]

Women as well as men rode horses, but they used a side saddle.[5] Storm does not say that Wulfhild rides side saddle, but this may be inferred (H, VII, 23-24).

The daughter of a noble family received her training under a governess.[6] We see this in H (VII, 21) where Dagmar is entrusted to the charge of an elderly relative of considerable education. Storm makes specific allusions to Dagmar's training: she is taught not only to read and write (H, VII, 21), as was customary in the Middle Ages,[7] but also to enjoy the then popular literature of chivalry, such as Gottfried's Tristan (H, VII, 26-27) and Hartmann von der Aue's Armer Heinrich (H, VII, 21).[8] The education of Dagmar, however, does not stop with that; the governess instructs her in fancy embroidery (H, VII, 18). Together they embroider covers for the relics of saints (H, VII, 32-33). Women of the Middle Ages took pride in fancy needlework.[9] A woman's duties were considered to be chiefly domestic, as we may infer from Rolf Lembeck's statement to his wife to look after the spindle, symbolic of household tasks,[10] rather than after defense

---

[1] Ibid., I, 178. Weinhold, II, 201.

[2] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 178. [3] Ibid., pp. 181-82.

[4] Ibid., II, 100. [5] Ibid., I, 199. [6] Ibid., p. 163.

[7] Weinhold, I, 153, 159. Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 160.

[8] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 200.

[9] Ibid., pp. 195-96. Weinhold, I, 123; cf. ll. 33-109 of Meyer Helmbrecht von Wernher dem Gartenaere, ed. by Friedrich Panzer (Halle, 1922).

[10] Weinhold, I, 177. (On the grave of the duchess Luitgart of Lorrain and Franconia was a silver spindle.)

(H, VII, 23). Wulfhild does, however, exemplify some other phases of the training that daughters of noble families received during the Middle Ages. She cares for the wounds her husband has sustained in battle (H, VII, 4). Only in the case of serious wounds did medieval women call on a doctor.[1] Rolf's suggestion to his bride that she raise a flower garden (H, VII, 11) is indicative of the medieval custom that the wife had charge of the garden.[2]

As in the fourteenth century, so in the seventeenth the early training of the young men of noble birth was intrusted to private tutors who were ordinarily members of the clergy. Storm himself reports in his "Zerstreute Kapitel"[3] that Peter Goldschmidt had served as private tutor to the sons of his future father-in-law. Storm does not say that the private tutor of Kurt von der Risch (AS, IV, 268) is of the clergy, but he definitely states that the private tutors of Junker Rolf of Grieshuus (G, VI, 259) and the sons of Hennicke (E, V, 245) are candidates for the ministry. The advanced education of young men in the seventeenth century was much the same as in the fourteenth century. Junker Detlev, the younger son of Grieshuus, studies in Bordesholm, whereas the older, more practical, son takes over the family estate (G, VI, 206). This agrees with seventeenth-century custom when, irrespective of personal interest, the elder son usually inherited the landed property and the younger studied.[4] Gifted young men of the lower classes were often educated at the expense of a patron.[5] Thus Johannes, a young man of the middle class, is sent by his father's friend to Amsterdam to study painting (AS, IV, 265, 270).

I have referred to the general interest in dancing as a form of entertainment during the Middle Ages.[6] In the seventeenth century dancing was popular among both upper and lower classes of society.[7] In R (V, 87) the common people dance at a wedding and in AS (IV, 291) the villagers have an hilarious dancing party. In

---

[1] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 200-201.

[2] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[3] Theodor Storm, "Zerstreute Kapitel," p. 468.

[4] Steinhausen, II, 325; cf. p. 7, about the Middle Ages.

[5] Steinhausen, II, 339. [6] Cf. p. 46.

[7] "Antiquarische Miscellen," ZfSchl-HG, IX (1897), 200.

G (VI, 223) there is a fashionable ball in Gottorp. Storm alludes here to the custom that marriageable daughters were presented at balls.[1] Accordingly Junker Detlev of Grieshuus (G, VI, 223) meets his bride to be at such a ball. In connection with this ball, the French gavotte which became popular in Germany toward the end of the seventeenth century is mentioned;[2] Junker Hinrich unsuccessfully attempts a gavotte (G, VI, 223-24) with his future sister-in-law. In AS (IV, 291) Kurt asks the orchestra to play a two-step, which was highly popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3] Storm repeatedly speaks of card playing. At the wedding in R (V, 85) the older people play cards in the house while the young people dance on the barn floor. Storm found a description of such a wedding in the chronicle of Ostenfeld.[4] In AS (IV, 292) the people play a game of hazard. Storm adds that this game had just become popular. Although it is likely that there was renewed interest, this game was not new, for even in the fifteenth century, hazard was gambling permitted by the state.[5] The people of Grieshuus indulge frequently in a game of either chess or piquet (G, VI, 249), which were great favorites in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[6]

In H Storm makes several allusions to the manner of receiving and entertaining guests. When the knight Ravenstrupp calls upon Wulfhild, he is announced and led into the presence of Wulfhild by Gehrt Bookwald, the page (H, VII, 50). This agrees with medieval practice.[7] Moreover, that Wulfhild rises to meet her guest and that she does not sit down until she asks her guest to be seated, reflects the medieval custom that a lady had to rise when a knight entered the room and could be seated only if she offered him a seat.[8] Another point of medieval etiquette[9] which

---

[1]Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 14. [2]Ibid.

[3]Rudolph Voss, Der Tanz und seine Geschichte (Erfurt, (186?), p. 381.

[4]Rockenbach, p. 37. Her source is Voss' chronicle of Ostenfeld, p. 164.

[5]Steinhausen, II, 106.

[6]Weinhold, I, 118-19. Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 10.

[7]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 178. [8]Ibid., p. 200.

[9]Ibid., p. 522; cf. p. 47 on duties of page.

we observe in H (VII, 68) is that Hans Ravenstrupp takes his guest Rolf Lembeck by the hand and leads him thus into the room.

Storm makes several allusions to food and drink. The visitor of the Middle Ages, whether he were guest or messenger, had to be served with food or drink.[1] When the messenger of Haderslevhuus invites Rolf Lembeck to the wedding, Gehrt Bookwald, the page, is expressly told to give the messenger a good drink (H, VII, 65).

Drinking was greatly indulged in during the Middle Ages. Public taverns were known as early as the thirteenth century.[2] Thus Rolf Lembeck and his servant enter the inn in Haderslevhuus (H, VII, 42-43) where they find several intoxicated people.

In the seventeenth century beer was the chief drink in Schleswig-Holstein.[3] Storm mentions in R (V, 101) that Josias' father, the pastor of Schwabstedte, has great trouble keeping his beer from turning sour in his cellar.[4] And Hennicke of Eekenhof is not satisfied to have warm beer with his dinner twice a week (E, V, 240) and so spends much time drinking with his companions.

In R (V, 103) Josias' mother serves Peter Goldschmidt, who is a visitor, with rice mush, which, according to Biernatzky's Volksbuch, was served only at Christmas and when there was a special visitor.[5]

Religious Customs

The majority of Storm's allusions to religious practices we find in R. Josias, the minister's son, follows the calling of his father as was traditional in the family from the days of Luther and Melanchthon (R, V, 125). That it never occurs to Josias to choose some other profession, is in accordance with the custom

---

[1] Ibid., I, 176. Cf. Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 64.

[2] Steinhausen, II, 93.

[3] Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 52; cf. Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 322.

[4] Cf. Rockenbach, pp. 36-37. She bases her remarks on the chronicle of the Esmarch family. That the pastor of Schwabstedte, as Storm says, actually petitioned the duke for a new cellar is stated in the above chronicle.

[5] Cf. Rockenbach, p. 35. Her source is Biernatzky's Volksbuch for the year 1851, p. 64.* Cf. Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 422.

that a pastor's son should carry on his father's calling.[1] Josias takes over his father's position after the latter becomes ill; but he does not do so until his training at the University of Halle has advanced to the point at which he can be ordained. This agrees with the church regulation that only the ordained were allowed to preach in the churches of Schleswig-Holstein.[2] Storm correctly calls the pastor of Schwabstedte a Diakonus (R, V, 87), which was the official rank of the pastor of Schwabstedte beginning with 1589.[3] In G (VI, 264, 266) we read that the pastor of Grieshuus had been recommended for a pastorate, but had failed to get it. This is in agreement with the custom that a candidate had to be recommended for a pastorate by an interested party. The landowner and patron ordinarily suggested to the community whomever he wished elected.[4] This custom is reflected in E (V, 245) where Hennicke secures a private tutor for his sons for a very low salary by promising him the local pastorate whenever it becomes vacant; Hennicke keeps his promise (E, V, 257).

Storm's description of the duties of the pastor and of the church ritual in Schleswig-Holstein during the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries is most accurate. In his former pastorate at Schwesen Josias' father (R, V, 72) had to serve in the capacity of schoolmaster as well as in that of pastor. This was in accordance with the church regulations governing small congregations.[5] An important part of the church service was the singing of boys and girls in the church choir under the direction of the cantor.[6] This is indicated by Storm when Renate and other children of the community attend singing classes to prepare for early morning church service (E, V, 100). Furthermore Josias and other boys of the congregation assist the cantor Petrus Steinbrecher, who was actually cantor of Husum from

---

[1] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 210. Müllenhoff, No. 333.

[2] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 180. [3] Ibid., p. 162.

[4] Ibid., IV, 213, 329.

[5] Ibid., III, 157, 161, 229. Rockenbach, p. 38. Her source is Lass, I, 39 and Krafft, p. 318.

[6] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 184.

1687 to 1702,[1] in the singing of the Te Deum Laudamus (R, V, 100). This refers, very likely to the liturgical chant which was sung by two boys in the liturgical service held on each week day between eight and nine o'clock in the morning.[2]

In R and G Storm describes the ritual of the Sunday morning church service in Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As Storm mentions the various parts of the church service, he refers to them by their Latin names. From these titles it is not obvious whether they were sung in Latin, or whether only the Latin titles were still retained for the canticles while they were actually sung in German. Storm himself alludes to the fact that at least some or parts of some of the canticles were still sung in Latin. In paraphrasing the following words of Luther about church music, "viel feiner musica und Gesangs ... denn ich keinem Weg will die lateinische Sprache aus dem Gottesdienst lassen gar wegkommen,"[3] Storm says: "... dasz der Studiosus Josias ein Musikfreund und mit seinem Vater der Ansicht Dr. Luthers war, die lateinische Sprache habe viel feiner musica und Gesanges in sich, daher man sie keineswegs aus dem Gottesdienste solle weg kommen lassen." (R, V, 100). Storm says also that some of these Latin canticles were believed to have been sung in Schwabstedte as late as the time of R. He is very likely right in believing that some of them were still being sung in Latin during the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. Johann Bugenhagen states in his order of service for the city of Braunschweig in 1531 that the children should learn the meaning of the Latin words in the canticles which they sang and that the words of the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Supper should be sung in German.[4] Jensen says in his

---

[1] Kobes, p. 27. His source is Krafft; the page reference is not clear.

[2] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 184-85. Kobes, p. 27. Lass and Krafft are his sources; no definite references to pages.

[3] Dr. Martin Luther's Sämtliche Werke, ed. by Johann Konrad Irmischer (Erlangen, 1831), XXII, 229.

[4] Johann Bugenhagen, Der Erbarn Stadt Braunschweig Christliche/ Zu dienst dem heiligen Evangelio/ Christliche lieb/ Zucht/ friede und einigkeit/ Auch darunter viel Christlicher lehre für die Bürger (MDXXXI), "Vom Singen und Lesen der Schüler in den Kirchen," sign. Z.; ibid., "Ordnung der Messe," sign. R.

Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte, which deals with the church ritual of the seventeenth century, that the pastor had to sing the words of the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Supper in German.[1] Jensen adds that the litany had to be sung once a week during the daily morning church services in German.[2] These specifications that certain parts of the church ritual as late as the seventeenth century had to be sung in German, make it probable that these or others were still sung in Latin even in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Storm's following description of the Sunday morning church service agrees fully with the account that Jensen gives us in his Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte: The Pastor (G, VI, 236) leads the singing of the Kyrie eleison after the congregation has sung a German psalm. This is the very beginning of the Sunday morning church service.[3] In R (V, 118) the pastor prays the Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam and the congregation responds with Et salutare tuum da nobis! The next part of the order of church service we find again in G (VI, 236) where the pastor chants Dominus vobiscum and reads immediately following this a collect. Finally, the canticle Benedicamus Domino which is sung immediately before the sermon is mentioned in R (V, 118). Thus Storm gives in these two Chroniknovellen the complete ritual preceding the sermon in the Sunday morning church service of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[4] The pastor of Grieshuus reads also a collect at the close of the service (G, VI, 225), that is, after the sermon. This agrees with Catholic procedure[5] and may still have been practiced by the Protestant church. Whether intentionally or not, Storm's description of the order of the church service does not agree fully with the usual order of service. The Lord's Supper, which was celebrated every Sunday before the regular church service,[6] is held in R (V, 118) after the church service. Storm says, however, that an unusually large number of communicants had declared their in-

---

[1] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 193. [2] Ibid., p. 185.

[3] Ibid., pp. 184-85. [4] Ibid.

[5] The Catholic Encyclopedia, IV (1908), 103-104. During the regular Sunday services two collects were read in the Catholic church.

[6] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 178.

tention to partake because the pastor of the church had been ill for some time; it may, therefore, be that the order of service was changed, so that the whole service might be climaxed by the Lord's Supper. In G (VI, 236) the celebration of the Lord's Supper is not referred to, but could have been held before the service.

Storm states that Renate had not announced her intention to partake of the Lord's Supper (R, V, 118). This may be an allusion to the church regulation that the communicant was obliged to declare his intention of receiving communion on the Saturday preceding and be questioned as to his fitness.[1] Even though Renate is the last of all the communicants to come up to the altar and has not declared her intention to partake, Josias does not question her, for the pastor had no right under threat of punishment to question a communicant at the altar or to prevent him from partaking.[2]

Josias wears the formal mass robe which Protestant pastors wore as late as the early eighteenth century while administering the Lord's Supper.[3]

During the early eighteenth century there were still two formulae of baptism in the church of Schleswig-Holstein; one which held that the devil had to be driven out by exorcism and another which prescribed that the child should be asked through his parents to renounce the devil.[4] Storm refers to both of these formulae in R (V, 104) where Peter Goldschmidt adheres to the former and Josias' father to the latter. The custom that the god-parent gave the child a present at baptism,[5] we find reflected in AS (IV, 271) when Katharina gives the coin she has received from her god-parent to the departing Johannes.

In his Chroniknovellen H and G Storm alludes repeatedly to the customs connected with engagement and marriage. Claus

---

[1] Ibid., p. 193.

[2] Ibid. Josias, however, wishes throughout the ceremony that Renate might partake.

[3] Ibid., p. 197.

[4] Kobes, p. 26. Lass, without a definite page reference to his source. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, IV, 156.

[5] Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 35. Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 203.

Lembeck makes the usual financial arrangements that preceded an engagement (H, VII, 8).[1] After the all-important dowry has been agreed upon, the engagement ceremony follows. Claus Lembeck asks both his son Rolf and Wulfhild, according to medieval custom,[2] whether they wish to belong to each other. When Storm says, "Rolf hatte ... sein beteuernd ja gesprochen," he may be referring to the regulation that the engagement had to be strengthened with an oath.[3] The kiss which Wulfhild demands from Rolf was the final step in the engagement ceremony of the Middle Ages.[4] We see in H (VII, 8) that the wedding contract is signed at the time the couple becomes engaged. Obviously the engagement was more important than the marriage. From the ninth century on the church insisted on the solemnization of marriage by the clergy, but in most cases the demand of the church to have marriages solemnized was not complied with; in H (VII, 8) Claus Lembeck says after the marriage contract has been signed that the priest may now do the rest.[5] The custom that witnesses were required for the wedding ceremony during the Middle Ages[6] is alluded to by Storm in H (VII, 65) where Rolf Lembeck is asked to be a witness at Dagmar's wedding. A wedding ring, like the one Rolf Lembeck wears, was worn by men as well as women during the Middle Ages.[7]

The wedding guests were usually invited by an honored servant. It is perhaps for this reason that the messenger who invites Rolf Lembeck to Dagmar's wedding says: "Ich bin nur der älteste der Knechte" (H, VII, 64). This messenger is typical of

---

[1] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 165, 623. In E (V, 239) Hennicke is shown all of Benedikte's possessions before he becomes definitely interested in her; cf. Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 55.

[2] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 623.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 624.

[5] Weinhold, I, 371. W. Wackernagel, "Verlöbnis und Trauung," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, II (1842), 549. Hereafter cited as Wackernagel. Cf. Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring nach der Meininger Handschrift, ed. by Edmund Wieszner (Leipzig, 1931), in "Deutsche Literatur, Reihe Realistik des Spätmittelalters," III, 189, l. 5276. Here the wedding ceremony is not solemnized by a priest, but the priest is referred to.

[6] Wackernagel, p. 552. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 518.

[7] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 624. Weinhold, I, 370. Cf. Gottfried's Tristan, ll. 654-55.

medieval wedding announcers: he makes his presence known with a great noise,[1] his speech is artfully unintelligible,[2] and finally he wears beribboned clothes[3] (H, VII, 64).

After the wedding celebration the bride and groom,when of the nobility, rode on horseback in a triumphal procession to their estate,[4] as Storm describes it in H (VII, 10); he comments on the fine horses which Rolf and Wulfhild ride. This is, no doubt, an allusion to the custom that the best horses were fattened and groomed for this purpose.[5]

The engagement ceremony as practiced in Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was under the jurisdiction, and needed the sanction of the church.[6] Storm indicates this in G (VI, 231) where Junker Hinrich and Bärbe go to the local pastor to have their engagement blessed. Moreover, Junker Detlev of Grieshuus has postponed marriage longer than the set time (G, VI, 231). It was customary for the marriage to take place six weeks after the engagement.[7] In R (V, 82) Storm pictures a typical seventeenth century peasant wedding. The bride wears the usual tinsel crown that was worn at all the peasant weddings of Schleswig-Holstein.[8] The occasion is celebrated by a dance for the young folks and a card party for the older people. Perhaps Storm was acquainted with the details of the peasant wedding in Voss' chronicle of Ostenfeld.[9] After the newly wedded pair have danced a part of the evening they seat themselves at one end

---

[1]Weinhold, I, 369. [2]Ibid.

[3]Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 63-64.

[4]Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 518. Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 639.

[5]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 639.

[6]Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, IV, 51. Such an engagement had to take place before the pastor and several witnesses. Storm does not mention any witnesses, for he only uses items that are necessary for his purpose.

[7]Ibid., pp. 52, 54. An engagement could be annuled only through a decree of the consistory of the church.

[8]Rockenbach, p. 37. Her source is Voss' chronicle of Ostenfeld, p. 164.*

[9]Rockenbach, p. 37. Cf. Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 55.

of the table with a tin vessel between them. All the guests file by to present their wedding gifts. Josias presents a coin and Renate a silver spoon (R, V, 84). These were the usual presents at a peasant wedding.[1] After presenting his gift each guest drinks to the newly-weds. All this agrees exactly with the wedding customs of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth century.[2] Wedding gifts were customarily presented during the Middle Ages;[3] accordingly in H (VII, 29) Wulfhild has received from her aunt the precious belt which once had been given to Ginevra by a knight.

To the possibility of divorce by decree during the Middle Ages, Storm refers in H (VII, 47). Rolf Lembeck recalls that the count of Orlamünde had obtained permission from the Pope to divorce his wife on the grounds that she was his blood relation.[4] The church of the Middle Ages recognized this as a just cause for divorce, even though the relationship was quite remote.[5] However, Rolf Lembeck has still a stronger ground for divorce. In the inn at Hadersleben he has overheard that his wife Wulfhild had poisoned her first husband (H, VII, 42-43, 47). Rolf Lembeck is right in thinking this a more acceptable reason for divorce, because attempt at murder and adultery were the generally accepted grounds for divorce.[6]

Storm's allusions to the funeral customs and burial places of the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries are numerous. Hans Ravenstrupp gives specific directions not to toll the bell until three days after Dagmar's death (H, VII, 62). This is indicative of the general medieval custom that the bell should toll as soon as someone had died.[7]

That the coffin of Hans Pogwisch (H, VII, 6) is placed in the entrance hall corresponds to general folk tradition.[8] More-

---

[1] J. H. Eckhard, "Ehemalige Volkssitten und Volkstrachten in Schleswig-Holstein," Niedersachsen, XII (1906-1907), 369. Hereafter cited as Eckhard. Cf. Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 55-56.

[2] Eckhard, p. 369.

[3] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 623.

[4] I do not find any documentation of the divorce of Albrecht von Orlamünde, but a divorce on the above grounds was obtainable. Cf. Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 649.

[5] Ibid. [6] Weinhold, II, 45.

[7] Sartori, "Sitte und Brauch," I, 130. [8] Ibid., p. 141.

over, the people of Haderslevhuus sing the very common[1] funeral dirge De Profundis when Rolf Lembeck enters the room in which Dagmar lies in state (H, VII, 69).

In the seventeenth century the custom still prevailed that the pastor and other notables of the community were buried in the church and very often near the altar.[2] Storm says that Agidius Herfort was buried by the altar in the church of Husum (R, V, 74). In AS (IV, 282, 290) Master Gerhardus is buried in the local church. Furthermore, the bodies of Junker Rolf and the old hunter of Grieshuus are entombed in a private burial chapel that adjoins the church[3] (G, VI, 259, 290). On the other hand that the grain accountant of Grieshuus, a member of the lower class, is buried in the cemetery expresses correctly that private places of burial were for the wealthy.[4]

Upon the grave of Benedikte (E, V, 270) is found a heavy tombstone. This corresponds to church practice of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century when tombstones were placed on the graves in the church as well as upon the graves in the cemetery.[5]

In G (VI, 290) Storm alludes to the coffins in which the nobility were buried; the coffins of Junker Rolf of Grieshuus and the old hunter who is really Junker Hinrich of Grieshuus are placed in copper chests (G, VI, 290). Such chests, usually of copper, were used commonly by the nobility of Schleswig-Holstein at that time [6] Furthermore, the family coat of arms is embossed upon the coffin of the old Junker of Grieshuus (G, VI, 230). This agrees with the general practice in Schleswig-Holstein of embossing the coat of arms either on the coffin or on the wall of the private funeral chapel near the coffin.[7]

---

[1]Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 201.

[2]Beccau, p. 180. The burial places of Hermann Tast and Caspar Danckwardt, the early pastors of the church of Husum, were near the altar. Cf. Schultz, Das höfische Leben, II, 470.

[3]Bosselt, "Die kirchliche Kunst," pp. 299-300. This is still the case in the church of Segeberg in Schleswig-Holstein.

[4]Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 419. [5]Ibid.

[6]Bosselt, "Die kirchliche Kunst," pp. 299-300. Chests of tin, silver, and stone were also used. Cf. Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 409.

[7]Willers Jessen, "Zwei Ahlefeldsche Stiftungen," ZfSchl-HG, XI (1903), 362. Schultz, Das Häusliche Leben, p. 233.

The nobility and leading citizens had the privilege of reserving special pews in the church.[1] Thus the Hofbauer in R (V, 91) has finally obtained the right to have such a pew in the church of Schwabstedte and the nobility of Grieshuus has a loft to itself[2] (G, VI, 225, 236).

In H (VII, 32) Storm alludes to the love of the medieval church for saints' relics. He refers to the relics of St. Ursula and the ten thousand virgins (H, VII, 32) (the number is really eleven thousand[3]), which were considered among the most precious.[4]

The degree to which the church of the seventeenth century had authority over its adherents may be illustrated from the Chroniknovellen. When the old Junker of Grieshuus realizes that his son intends to marry a girl of the lower class, he wishes to have him banned by the church (G, VI, 226, 227). The pastor, however, reminds the old Junker of Grieshuus that the offender has to be summoned by the sexton and warned in the presence of the church officials before he can be banned. This agrees entirely with the rules of the church discipline of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth century.[5]

In AS (IV, 314) we are told that the pastor has had a lawsuit with his congregation over the use of a piece of ground. This was easily possible, for the pastor of Garstedt in Schleswig-Holstein had at about that time a lawsuit with his congregation over the grain he had been promised as part of his salary.[6]

Legal Customs

We are not surprised that Storm, who was a lawyer, is accurate in his description of legal matters. He makes numerous

---

[1] Beccau, p. 172.

[2] Ibid. G. Hille, "Ein altes Schleswiger Haus," ZfSchl-HG, XXXVIII (1908), 319. Here the chairs (pews) are sold as they were in most churches.

[3] Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 114. Müllenhoff, No. 188. Cf. A. Köster, Notes to Storm's Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 32.

[4] Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 114.

[5] Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 177.

[6] Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 76.

allusions to municipal and state laws. Thus we read in AS (IV, 313) that outsiders from districts, that had no trade agreement with Husum on certain days, were not allowed to trade until after eleven o'clock in the morning. Such contracts actually existed between Husum and neighboring villages.[1] When Johannes walks over the market place, he sees that the bread booths have opened early (AS, IV, 322). By city regulation booths for all kinds of merchandise were allowed to be set up around the market square.[2]

Again in AS (IV, 321-22) we learn that Johannes' brother has to read the verdict against the witch publicly on the steps of the city hall. From this we may infer that Johannes' brother must have been the secretary of the town, for it was the duty of the secretary to read verdicts on the morning the execution was to take place.[3]

The refusal of the citizens of Husum (AS, IV, 315) to act as pall bearers for the flayer whose office they believed to be opprobrious is a reference to laws that had to be passed during the seventeenth century forcing certain groups to furnish pall bearers for unpopular citizens. Storm gives us in his "Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen" a description of the incidents that occurred relative to this question during the seventeenth century.[4]

In H[5] (VII, 4) and in G (VI, 204) the doctor uses an Apostalipflaster which was according to the law of the seventeenth century the type of plaster an individual had to be able to make before he could be recognized as a practicing physician.[6]

In R (V, 73) Storm speaks of the swineherd whom he calls

---

[1]Beccau, pp. 118, 299. Kobes, p. 31. Lass, I, 69, 70, 85, 93, 156; II, 31 is his source.

[2]Lauremberg, II, 35, l. 732. Beccau, p. 151. Kobes, p. 8. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 350.

[3]Kobes, pp. 10, 36. His source is Lass, I, 7, 96-97; II, 15-17.

[4]Theodor Storm, "Aus Husumer Geschichtsquellen," Sämtliche Werke, VIII, 50. Cf. Rockenbach, p. 26.

[5]The word Apolloniuspflaster which Storm uses in H (VII, 4) seems to be an error, because no such word can be found.

[6]V. F. Jendreyczyk, "Die Apotheke zu Tönning," ZfSchl-HG, XL (1910), 286. Cf. Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 53.

Gergesener.[1] As late as the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries each community hired its swineherd.[2] That the hogs of Grieshuus are herded in the forests and fattened on the acorns reflects the custom that forests were used in Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for this purpose as a community pasture.[3]

When Storm says in H (VII, 19) that the people were forced to pay their Viehzehente, a tithe on cattle, he not only indicates that these tithes were exacted by law,[4] but also that fines had to be imposed because people were unwilling to pay.[5] To the fact that the tenth was insisted upon by the government as late as the end of the seventeenth century, Storm alludes in AS (IV, 259).[6]

Storm's only reference to the prosecution of murderers we find in G. Junker Hinrich flees the country immediately after he kills his brother and returns only in disguise. That a person committing premeditated murder was forever outlawed according to seventeenth century law of Schleswig-Holstein, we see in the statement of the colonel's cousin who says that Junker Hinrich will know better than to return (G, VI, 275).[7]

Storm's allusions to the law of inheritance and property in the Chroniknovellen are numerous. It was customary for the older son to inherit the father's landed property.[8] Thus Hennicke, a younger son, envies and hates his older brother, because he has inherited their father's estate (E, V, 230). Only a legally transacted will could annul this unwritten law.[9] Thus the old

---

[1]Storm may have taken this word from the Esmarch chronicle. Cf. Rockenbach, p. 36. Cf. also in the New Testament Matt. 8: 28.

[2]Beccau, pp. 210-11.

[3]Cf. Friedrich von Berthau, "Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Klosters Preetz in der zweiten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," ZfSchl-HG, IL (1919), 47. Hereafter cited as Berthau.

[4]Richard Schröder und Eberhard Künssberg, Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtgeschichte (6th ed.; Leipzig, 1922), pp. 206-7, 463.

[5]Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, II, 337. Cf. Müllenhoff, No. 64.

[6]Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, II, 244.

[7]Stemann, Schleswigs recht, p. 48. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 177.

[8]Stemann, Schleswigs recht, p. 60. [9]Ibid.

Junker of Grieshuus wills Grieshuus to his younger son Detlev, because he disapproves of the elder son's marriage (G, VI, 228). Furthermore, Junker Detlev, the younger son, is fully informed about this will before his father's death (G, VI, 230), for such a will was binding only, if it had been made with the consent of those who were to inherit the property.[1] We note, however, that Junker Hinrich, the elder son, inherits his share of the money (G, VI, 233). This refers to the law that the son who inherits the estate must pay the other heirs a certain sum of money.[2] In E (V, 232-37) the widower Hennicke enjoys all the profits of the estate that belonged to his wife before marriage, but he dreads the day when his son, Junker Detlev, will be twenty-one years of age, for it was the law of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth century that the father had full use and was administrator of his son's property until the son became of age.[3] That the father was sole administrator of his son's property is also seen in G (VI, 265) where the colonel claims the right to sell Grieshuus which is his son's legal inheritance from his mother. Furthermore, Hennicke has always wished that his son might die (E, V, 235-36), for then he would inherit the estate under the law.[4] Even though Hennicke has had Junker Detlev declared legally dead (E, V, 258), he realizes well that when Junker Detlev returns he will be tha legal heir, because the law stated that the property would ipso facto revert to its original owner, if he returned.[5] Hennicke wishes to make his illegitimate daughter Heilwig heir to Eekenhof (E, V, 258-59). It is for this reason that he corresponds with the court at Gottorp. This is in accordance with seventeenth century law of Schleswig-Holstein which permitted a father to legitimize a child born out of wedlock and have him thus made his heir.[6] Furthermore such a legal action had to

---

[1] Ibid., p. 33.

[2] Paul von Hedemann-Heespen, "Schleswig-Holsteins Erbrecht und Agrarverfassung," ZfSchl-HG, XXIX (1909), 314. Hereafter cited as Hedemann-Heespen, "Schleswig-Holsteins Erbrecht."

[3] Stemann, Schleswigs recht, p. 24.

[4] Ibid., pp. 24, 219.

[5] Ibid., p. 34.

[6] Ibid., pp. 28, 64, 187. There are many such cases in the legal records of seventeenth-century Schleswig-Holstein law.

be transacted by the Thing, the Supreme Court at Gottorp.[1] Also, the two sons of Hennicke by his second marriage had no right to share in the inheritance which belonged to their father's first wife, just as Detlev had no right to share the inheritance that belonged to Hennicke's second wife, for the law required that the inheritance of children of a first marriage was determined before the father could remarry.[2]

We find in the Chroniknovellen many allusions to the legal relation of the noble landowners to their bond servants. The landowners of Schleswig-Holstein during the seventeenth century had immediate jurisdiction over their bondsmen and only in special cases was there an appeal to higher authority possible.[3] In AS (IV, 306) Johannes has been seriously wounded by Junker Wulf, but he does not bring legal suit, for he does not believe that it would do any good. In the same Novelle the servant Dietrich says: "Ich bin ein höriger Mann, mir ziemet Schweigen" (AS, IV, 273, 280). Furthermore, the incidents where the supervisor of Eekenhof (E, V, 237, 252) and the sons of Hennicke (E, V, 258-59) whip tardy subjects describe conditions actually obtaining in Schleswig-Holstein until the end of the eighteenth century.[4] When Junker Hinrich nearly kills his servant Hans Christoph, no one even thinks of complaining about it (G, VI, 203), because the supreme law of the land would restrain the hand of the lord only, if the punishment was so severe that the subject died of his wounds.[5] That many of the noble landowners had no respect for the chastity of their bondsmaids is reflected by Storm in AS (IV, 280) where it is said of Kurt von der Risch, that his farmers were happy that God had not blessed them with daughters.[6]

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., pp. 28, 30-31.

[3] Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 182. In North Germany whole communities sometimes were bond servants of the noble lord until the end of the eighteenth century.

[4] Künssberg, Deutsche Bauernweistümer (Jena, 1926), p. 78.

[5] Henne am Rhyn, p. 221; cf. Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 182. Heinrich Rantzau of Schleswig-Holstein was fined and banished for five years in 1722 when three of his subjects died of the wounds they had sustained through his punishment.

[6] Cf. Fritz Reuter, "Kein Hüsung," Sämtliche Werke (Leipzig, 1905), VII (4), 45.

The extent to which the common people were at the mercy of the rich landowners is perhaps best expressed in G (VI, 239) where Junker Detlev claims that Junker Hinrich's wife Bärbe is his bondsmaid, because Bärbe and her father had neglected to obtain a written statement of their freedom from the Junker of Grieshuus when they took up residence on his estate. This claim of Junker Detlev was based on the law that people who had been born free could become bondsmen by setting foot upon a landowner's property.[1]

The custom that people who resided on the landowner's estate had to render service,[2] we find in R (V, 251) where the local farmers work in turns for their lord.

---

[1]Heckscher, Volkskunde, pp. 182-83. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, IV, 42. Jensen says that the condition of the bondsmen grew steadily worse during the seventeenth century.

[2]Heckscher, Volkskunde, p. 182. Hedemann-Heespen, "Herrschaft Pinneberg," p. 67.

CHAPTER VI

BUILDINGS AND THEIR FURNISHINGS

In his description of buildings and their furnishings Storm is very accurate. Of particular interest are his allusions in H to the medieval castles. That the castle Dorning was the best fortified castle in Schleswig-Holstein is an historical fact,[1] but Storm is more specific in his description; he says that Dorning had two walls (H, VII, 10). This was characteristic of the strongly fortified castles of the time.[2] An example of this would be castle Borgsum or Lembecksburg[3] to which Storm refers in H (VII, 45, 50) as having been built by Claus Lembeck on the island of Föhr after he had left Dorning to his oldest son Rolf. When Wulfhild first comes to Dorning she notices the many palisades in the moat between the walls of castle Dorning (H, VII, 11); palisades were commonly used in the moats of medieval castles.[4] Furthermore, Wulfhild sees wolves running in the moat between the palisades (H, VII, 11). This alludes to the medieval custom of keeping wolves in the castle moat to frighten away prowlers.[5] After Wulfhild has crossed the drawbridge she notices a well in the center of the castle yard (H, VII, 11). It was customary to dig the well in the castle yard where it was least accessible to the enemy who usually tried to poison the drinking water.[6] When Wulfhild makes her first tour of inspection, she recommends that certain gates and drawbridges be added to the defense system of castle Dorning (H, VII, 23). This agrees with the fact that the medieval

---

[1] "Chronicon Holtzatiae," p. 91.

[2] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 22-23.

[3] H. Handelmann, "Die Bauernburgen auf den nordfriesischen Inseln," ZfSchl-HG, III (1872), 60. Hereafter cited as Handelmann. Claus Lembeck was Chancellor of all of North Jutland and may have built a strong castle on the island of Föhr to defend the level country.

[4] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 21; II, 247.

[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. Handelmann, p. 60.

castle had many gates and drawbridges, some of which were within the inner fortifications of the castle.[1] Besides the main gates the medieval castle had usually one or more secret passageways.[2] Thus Rolf Lembeck does not enter by the main gate when he returns late at night, but uses some secret passageway (H, VII, 30). Had Rolf Lembeck wanted to enter the castle the usual way, he could have made his presence known by beating the hammer on a plate which was fastened on the main gate or a near-by post;[3] the servant of Ravenstrupp who calls at Haderslevhuus late at night follows this medieval practice (H, VII, 63). Usually the night watchman would sound his horn to announce the approach of people coming to the castle.[4] Accordingly Wulfhild waited long for the night watchman to announce Rolf's return[5] (H, VII, 28). As in the case of most medieval castles the garden[6] of Haderslevhuus is within the fortification of the castle walls (H, VII, 26, 35).

Storm speaks in H (VII, 19, 68) of the floor being made of square tiles; square-tile floors were common in the castle of the Middle Ages.[7]

The use of glass windows was confined to the residences of the wealthy and then to one or two rooms.[8] Accordingly the old governess brings with her from Thuringia a few glass panes for the windows of her own room (H, VII, 18, 21).

Storm mentions in H the important pieces of medieval furniture, among which the bed was the most elaborate.[9] The marriage bed in Dorning is covered with silken coverlets from Arras (H, VII, 28) and the governess' bed in Haderslevhuus has a canopy which was considered essential during the Middle Ages.[10] Beside

---

[1] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 22. [2] Ibid., pp. 49, 663.

[3] Ibid., pp. 34, 106. [4] Ibid.

[5] An allusion to the Wächter of the Middle Ages we find also in AS (IV, 299) regarding Johannes and Katharina who spend the night in her room: "O Hüter, Hüter, war dein Ruf so fern?"

[6] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 49-50. [7] Ibid., p. 63.

[8] Ibid., pp. 69-71. All windows except those in the best room were covered with parchment, linen, or horn. Cf. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 242.

[9] Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 103. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 243.

[10] Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 243.

the bed there was usually a stool.[1] In H (VII, 45) the advisor and servant of Wulfhild sits on a stool as he converses with his lady. One more very essential piece of furniture to which Storm refers in H (VII, 29) is the clothes chest which was likewise used during the Middle Ages as a seat.[2] Wulfhild keeps her magic belt in such a chest (H, VII, 29).

Rolf Lembeck and his wife use drinking goblets of silver and Wulfhild fills the goblet from a silver pitcher (H, VII, 28). This agrees with medieval customs, for on the table of the wealthy a complete set of silverware was considered essential.[3]

Dark patterned tapestry, such as adorns the walls of Dorning, was commonly used during the Middle Ages[4] (H, VII, 30, 50). The fact that this fashion was also popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries[5] is alluded to in AS (IV, 277).

That it was still customary during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century to display hunting equipment in the great hall[6] is referred to in both AS (IV, 304) and G (VI, 223) where Storm speaks of hunting equipment as being exhibited on the walls of the main room.

The means of lighting are correctly described in the Chroniknovellen. Ravenstrupp lights a candle by the flame of an oil lamp (H, VII, 61). Oil lamps were commonly used in medieval times.[7] The Hornleuchte (H, VII, 65) and Windlicht (H, VII, 68) which the servants in H carry are evidently one and the same. The much used Hornleuchte had a cover of horn[8] around the flame as a protection against rain and wind. In G (VI, 274) a tinderbox is used to light the lamp. A box and a piece of flint were regularly

---

[1]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 39.

[2]Weinhold, II, 103.

[3]Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 243.

[4]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 74, 76, 196. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 240.

[5]Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 129.

[6]Beccau, p. 216. This was also the case in the castle of Husum.

[7]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 94, 106.

[8]Ibid., p.121; cf. p. 121.

employed for this purpose as late as the early eighteenth century.[1] A building to which Storm alludes again and again is the church. In H (VII, 15) the chapel in which the people of Haderslevhuus try to find refuge from the Black Death is a part of the castle itself. It is a well known fact that the chapel was part of the castle in medieval times.[2] It was still so during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; in the castle of Husum the chapel is built into the left wing.[3] In this way the chapel in AS (IV, 273) is connected with the dwelling place. When Storm says that Master Gerhardus is buried in the local church, he most probably refers to such a chapel.[4]

In his description of details of churches in Schleswig-Holstein, Storm does not always use "local color." His references, for example, to churches built of granite blocks (AS, IV, 259; G, VI, 196, 247) would fit churches anywhere in Germany well into the eighteenth century.[5] Likewise, elaborate carvings, especially on pulpit and altar, as in AS (IV, 260), are found not only in the churches of the Storm-country.[6] Again, it is not only true of Schleswig-Holstein that pictures of saints and of pastors who have served the church were found in churches during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[7]

On the other hand, Storm, in at least two instances, does use "local color" in connection with details of the interior of churches. The reference to the epitaphs of mayor Herfort and other notable citizens displayed in the church of Husum (R, V, 74) is, as far as mayor Herfort is concerned, a reference to an his-

---

[1]Schultz, Alltagsleben, p. 137.

[2]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 60; cf. ibid. "Nachträge und Berichtigungen," I, 663.

[3]Beccau, p. 216.

[4]Ibid. Cf. p. 59.

[5]Bosselt, p. 289. R. Haupt, "Wehrkirchen in den Elbherzogtümern," ZfSchl-HG, XXXII (1902), 265. Hereafter cited as Haupt.

[6]Bosselt, pp. 261, 304. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, II, 268-69.

[7]Beccau, p. 173. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 238. The portraits of Hermann Tast and Peter Bockelmann, early pastors of Husum, were found in the church of Husum.

torical character whose epitaph is mentioned as being in the church during the early part of the eighteenth century.[1] And when Storm has Johannes paint a picture of Lazarus (AS, IV, 311-12), he is thinking of a painting which actually was in the church of Husum at the beginning of the same century.[2]

It is a common medieval practice to name a building after the emblem of the owner.[3] Thus the inn in H (VII, 42) is called Zum Schwarzen Stier. Likewise that the house in which Johannes supposedly writes the chronicle for the story of AS (IV, 311) has an inscription over the door is representative of the time.[4]

---

[1]Beccau, p. 173. Jensen, Kirchengeschichte, III, 238.

[2]Beccau, p. 177. Kobes, p. 23. Lass, I, 110, 160 is his source. Lass, according to Kobes, lists the pictures that were in the church of Husum during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[3]Steinhausen, II, 93. Ernst Grohne, Die Hausnamen und Hauszeichen, ihre Geschichte, Verbreitung und Einwirkung auf die Bildung der Familien- und Essnamen (Göttingen, 1913), p. 73. Cf. AS (IV, 280).

[4]Georg Hille, "Ein altes Schleswiger Haus," ZfSchl-HG, XXXVIII (1907), 291, 293.

CHAPTER VII

FLORA

It has been pointed out that the location of the garden within the castle of Haderslevhuus is typical of the Middle Ages.[1] Although Storm does not say so, it may be assumed that there was also a garden at Dorning, for fragrant roses decorate the silver goblets of Rolf Lembeck and his wife Wulfhild (H, VII, 28). Storm states specifically that these roses fill the room with fragrance. A fragrance would perhaps presuppose that these roses were cultivated, even though it is not generally accepted that roses were cultivated during the Middle Ages. Alvin Schultz's statement that the rose of medieval times was most likely wild[2] because its pistil was not covered by petals, does not prove anything, for many species of cultivated roses show their pistils; in fact most cultivated roses do in their final stage of blossoming. Cultivated roses were imported as early as 800 A.D. and about 1250 A.D.[3] Albertus Magnus described four species of red roses.[4] As to the fragrance of these roses in H (VII, 28), wine was often poured over roses to improve its flavor, so that even Storm's associating the roses with the wine (H, VII, 28) is historical.[5]

The people of Haderslevhuus strew thyme on the floors to sweeten the pestilent air during the Black Death (H, VII, 16).

---

[1]Cf. p. 68. [2]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 50.

[3]Der Grosse Brockhaus, Handbuch des Wissens in Zwanzig Bänden, XVI (1933), 97. Hereafter cited as Brockhaus. Victor Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa, "Kultur-Historische Skizzen von Victor Hehn" (Berlin, 1887), I, 2045.

[4]Storm does not mention the color of these roses, but, even though only the red rose seems to occur in medieval literature, the white rose is also believed to have existed during the Middle Ages; cf. Heinrich Marzell, Volksbotanik im deutschen Brauchtum (Berlin, 1935), pp. 55-56. Then, too, about forty years later than H the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster had the white and red roses as symbols on their coats of arms.

[5]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 413.

The fragrant thyme was well known in the Middle Ages[1] and since physicians actually advised people at the time of the Black Death to use fragrant herbs and wood to purify the pestilent air, it is very likely that thyme was used for this purpose.[2] Storm also speaks in H (VII, 23-24) of the fragrant woodbine (Geissblatt) which was common during the Middle Ages.[3] From his description of the effect which the fragrance of the woodbine has upon Rolf Lembeck and his wife Wulfhild, it is evident that Storm is aware of the fact that the woodbine was considered to be an aphrodisiac as early as the Middle Ages.[4] Dagmar arranges a handful of white anemones in a vase (H, VII, 22). This wild spring flower is native to the northern countries of Europe and exists in ninety different varieties of white, blue, and red.[5]

The castles of Dorning and Haderslevhuus are surrounded by dense beech forests (H, VII, 12); Rolf Lembeck has difficulty making his way through them (H, VII, 25). To the deep forests that covered Schleswig-Holstein during the Middle Ages Storm also refers in R (V, 69). Storm reflects actual history, for the trees which were felled by storms and floods have actually been found buried in the moors.[6] Then, too, the name Bookwald (H, VII, 28) ·icates this abundance of beech trees.[7] Moreover, Wulfhild's ..tement that they should plant pine and fir in the dry and barren

---

[1]Heinrich Marzell, Unsere Heilpflanzen, ihre Geschichte und ihre Stellung in der Volkskunde, "Ethnobotanische Streifzüge" (Freiburg, i.B., 1922), pp. 154-57. Thyme was also used as a charm against evil spirits.

[2]Hecker, "Der Schwarze Tod," pp. 79, 89.

[3]Schultz, Das höfische Leben, I, 383. In AS (IV, 290), R (V, 97), Die Armesünderglocke (VII, 383), etc., Storm also refers to the fragrant woodbine.

[4]Hieronimus Bock, Kreüterbuch, Part II, pp. 303, 305. Franz Söhns, Unsere Pflanzen, Ihre Namenerklärungen und ihre Stellung in der Mythologie und im Volksglauben (6th ed.; Leipzig, Berlin, 1920), p. 180. Cf. G. W. Gessmann, Die Pflanze im Zauberglauben. Ein Kathechismus der Zauberbotanik (Leipzig, 1899), p. 199.

[5]Ersch und Gruber, III-IV (1819), 58. Meyers, Konversationslexikon, Vol. I (1925), col. 566.

[6]H. E. Freiherr v. Berg, Geschichte der deutschen Wälder (Dresden, 1871), pp. 30, 137-38. Hereafter cited as Von Berg. Cf. Müllenhoff, No. 116; Weinhold, II, 98.

[7]Waitz, I, 191.

spaces (H, VII, 23) reflects actual history, for it is these trees that multiplied more rapidly than any other kind during the medieval period.[1]

Storm also speaks of other trees in H. Dark yew-trees such as shade the walks in the garden of Haderslevhuus (H, VII, 35) were common in medieval times.[2] Near the center of the castle yard of Dorning (H, VII, 11) there is a large linden tree. At this time the linden tree had become a village or community tree.[3] Of special interest is Storm's reference to the Italian or pyramid[4] popular (H, VII, 51). It is not very probable that this rare species of poplar was imported to northern Germany as early as the thirteenth century (H, VII, 51), because the Italian poplar is said to have been imported to Wörlitz, Germany in the eighteenth century.[5] Even in the latter part of the nineteenth century this tree was so rare in Germany that only eight female and one male tree of this species of poplar were believed to exist.[6] Storm was, no doubt, aware of the fact that this tree was rare, because he says that it had been planted in honor of the king (H, VII, 51). He must have been acquainted with the Italian poplar; he describes it as being one hundred feet tall which is true of the Italian, all other species of poplar being considerably smaller.[7]

---

[1]Von Berg, p. 136. [2]Ibid., p. 37.

[3]Ibid., p. 44. Sach, Deutsches Leben, I, 410.

[4]The silver poplar which Storm mentions frequently must not be confused with this rare Italian poplar. Cf. AS (IV, 238), R (V, 69), and G (VI, 196).

[5]Meyers, Konversationslexikon, Vol. IX (1928), col. 347.

[6]Ibid., p. 377.

[7]Ibid. Additional information about the Italian poplar might be found in Carl Alvin Schenk's book, Fremdländische Wald- und Parkbäume. Ein Buch für alle Forstwirte und Dendrologen (Berlin, 1939). See especially Vol. III, "Die Laubwälder."*

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE

Archaic Words and Phrases

In his Chroniknovellen Storm uses words and expressions which are characteristic of the age the Novellen represent, that is, the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. However, Storm does not reproduce the language of the chronicles on which he supposedly bases his Chroniknovellen, because it would have been impossible for the average modern reader to understand the language of the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries; he uses only a moderate number of archaisms, that is, some of the words and expressions in the Chroniknovellen are used with the inflection, spelling, and usage that is characteristic of the time the Chroniknovellen represent. Storm himself expressed his opinion on the use of archaic language. In R (V, 72) he says in his capacity as narrator: "An der Schreib= und Vortragsweise habe ich so viel geändert, als zur lebendigeren Darstellung des Inhalts nötig erschien; an einzelnen Stellen für manche Leser vielleicht kaum genug; ..." In his reply to Gottfried Keller's letter[1] about the use of archaic language in R, Storm writes that he, too, does not believe in the extensive use of archaisms, that he had avoided in R all expressions and words which his reading audience might not readily understand, and that he would refrain from using them in the future.[2] This, according to Köster, explains the reason for the removal of many archaisms in the second edition of R (1878).[3] However, Storm does use archaic language later in Book II of G (1884) and in H (1885). Thus we see that Storm tried to reproduce the language of the time to the extent of lending color, but not to the extent of detracting from the modern reader's understanding.

It will be possible to cite and consider only the most

---

[1] Köster, Briefwechsel, p. 43. [2] Ibid., p. 47.

[3] Köster, "Prolegomena," p. 12.

representative archaic terms and expressions that Storm employs. He quite consistently uses the unaccented e in medial or final position where it was still preserved in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries:[1] in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs--borete (AS, IV, 275), flirrete (G, VI, 284), vermeinete (G, VI, 278), abgeheimseten (AS, IV, 284); verzählet (AS, IV, 267), herbestellet (G, VI, 289), bestreuet (G, VI, 289), verwarnet (R, V, 103); occasionally in the second person plural of the present indicative and imperative[2]--sinnet (AS, IV, 304), erbleichet (AS, IV, 286), tücket (AS, IV, 266), meinet (R, V, 95); gebet (G, VI, 281), lasset (G, VI, 280), gucket (R, V, 83), sehet (R, V, 96); sporadically in the second and third person singular of the present indicative[3]--siehest (R, V, 104), sinnest (G, VI, 235), wälzet (R, V, 112), dränget (R, V, 112); occasionally in nouns, adjectives, and pronouns[4]--Genade (G, VI, 259), heimelig (G, VI, 246), Ihme (G, VI, 227).

Storm uses often the old unlevelled forms of the preterite:[5] stund (R, V, 120), erhuben (AS, IV, 279), hub an (H, VII, 43).

The old past participle of kommen without the prefix ge occurs occasionally in the Chroniknovellen[6]--AS (IV, 309, 331), G (VI, 250).

In the weak inflection of feminine nouns Storm follows the language of the time:[7] meine Zungen (AS, IV, 324), der Gnaden Schutz (R, V, 124), der leeren Kirchen (R, V, 124), Mutter der

---

[1]Joseph Kehrein, Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des fünfzehnten bis siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1854), Part I, sec. 383. Hereafter cited as Kehrein. Max Hermann Jellinek, Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Grammatik von den Anfängen bis auf Adelung (Heidelberg, 1913), Vol. II, sec. 436. Hereafter cited as Jellinek.

[2]Kehrein, Part I, sec. 372.

[3]Ibid., secs. 377, 379.

[4]Hermann Paul, Deutsche Grammatik (Halle a.S., 1916), Vol. I, sec. 114. Hereafter cited as Paul.

[5]Ibid., Vol. II, secs. 164, 169.

[6]Wilhelm Willmann, Deutsche Grammatik, Gotisch, Alt-, Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch (Berlin, 1922), Vol. III, sec. 77. Hereafter cited as Willmann.

[7]Jellinek, Vol. II, sec. 228.

Gnaden (H, VII, 39).

The old genitive and accusative forms of proper names[1] -ens and -en Storm preserves in such forms as: Katharinens (AS, IV, 280), Katharinen (AS, IV, 277), and Renaten (R, V, 118).

In a few instances the short forms of the interrogative adjective and demonstrative pronoun are used. This was customary until the beginning of the eighteenth century:[2] wess Ursach (R, V, 78), wess Standes (G, VI, 227); des Ursach (AS, IV, 282).

On one occasion Storm uses denen attributively for diesen: (R, V, 108). This was also general usage.[3]

The neuter attributive adjective was often uninflected well into the eighteenth century.[4] Storm's usage agrees with that: dem alt Mariken (R, V, 111), ein neu Gespräch (R, V, 103), ein ander Regiment (AS, IV, 276).

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century there was no longer a careful distinction between the old forms of the adjective of number: zween (masc.), zwo (fem.), zwei (neut.). Zwei became the generally accepted form for all three genders, but people who still tried to make a distinction very often used the wrong form.[5] Storm twice reproduces this "hypercorrectness": der zwo grimmen Köter (AS, IV, 276), zwo tolle Kerle (AS, IV, 276). Storm's inflection of numerals is also consistent with the usage of the time:[6] in zweien Tagen (R, V, 105), zu zweien (AS, IV, 276).

The following words which Storm uses have either been lost to modern German, or they have changed their form and function, but they were common around 1700: maszen[7] (AS, IV, 282), itzo[8] (G, VI, 291), anitzt[9] (R, V, 75), sonsten[10] (R, V, 78), Hoch-

---

[1] Ibid., sec. 387. Paul, Vol. II, secs. 108-9.

[2] Paul, Vol. II, secs. 130, 134. [3] Ibid., sec. 130.

[4] Otto Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax, Eine Geschichtliche Darstellung (Heidelberg, 1923), Vol. I, sec. 115. Hereafter cited as Behaghel. Jellinek, Vol. II, sec. 520.

[5] Paul, Vol. II, secs. 140-41. [6] Ibid.

[7] Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1854), Vol. VI (1885), col. 1737. Hereafter cited as Deutsches Wörterbuch.

[8] Paul, Vol. I, sec. 315.

[9] Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol. I (1854), col. 377.

gelahrter[1] (G, VI, 220), Wittmann[2] (G, VI, 249), Wittib.[3] Some of the words which Storm uses were peculiar to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, that is, they were popular only during that time: Informator[4] (G, VI, 245) for private tutor; Rockelor[5] (R, V, 78), a type of light weight overcoat; Kornschreiber[6] (G, VI, 212), grain accountant; Dirne[7] (G, VI, 203), girl, not "bad girl" as in the last half of the eighteenth century. Storm uses derbe Dirne (AS, IV, 291) to express this latter meaning.

Since German in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was not yet a unified standard language, it was not unusual for writers of that time to use dialect forms of words and phrases. Accordingly we find in Storm's Chroniknovellen the Middle German gläubete[8] (R, V, 85), and the Low German Knicken[9] (R, V, 96) for the High German Hecken, and so forth. Phrases such as norden vor dem Dorfe (R, V, 83), osten dem Dorfe (R, V, 69), which show Low German influence, are expected, since the Chroniknovellen represent North Germany,[10] but phrases like vergesset nicht auf Eures Vaters Süpplein (G, VI, 217) and ritten sie auf Haderslevhuus (H, VII, 41), show South German influence.[11] Inasmuch as there was not yet a standard German language, a North German of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century might well use a South

---

[10] Ibid., Vol. X (1) (1905), col. 1733.

[1] Ibid., Vol. IV (1897), Div. I, Part II, col. 2853.

[2] Paul, Vol. I, sec. 148. [3] Ibid.

[4] Brockhaus, IX (1931), 111.

[5] Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol. VIII (1893), col. 1101.

[6] Johann Chr. Adelung, Grammatisch Kritisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Leipzig, 1727), Vol. II, col. 1726. Hereafter cited as Adelung.

[7] Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol. II (1860), col. 1185.

[8] Ibid., Vol. IV (1878), sec. I, Part IV, col. 7820-21.

[9] Ibid., Vol. V (1873), col. 1416.

[10] Otto Mensing, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch (Neumünster, 1927), Vol. III, col. 809.

[11] Deutsches Wörterbuch, Vol. XII (1904-1905), sec. I, Part I, col. 420.

German expression in his effort to speak "Hochsprache."[1]

Consistent with his statements on the use of archaisms Storm has but few in H to lend color to the language.[2] Among them we find abstract nouns in e that were very common at that time: Eurer Schöne (H, VII, 7), die Schwere (H, VII, 24).[3] He likewise employs nouns like Herre (H, VII, 36, 53) and Fraue (H, VII, 7, 36) that still preserve their final e.[4]

Forms of Address

We have seen that Storm made use of archaic language only in so far as his readers could understand and appreciate this language. It is different, however, with respect to the pronominal, nominal, and abstract forms of address, which he uses fully in accordance with the usage of the time. For the sake of convenience we shall take up the forms of address in Storm's Chroniknovellen in the following order: forms of address used between superior and inferior; between intimates, that is, friends and members of the same family; to non-humans, that is, the pronoun of address used in speaking to animals and the deity; the pronoun used between people who form an attachment for each other, or who become displeased with one another; between equals, that is, people of the same rank, but not intimates; the use of the new forms of Er and Sie-singular; the use of Sie-plural, and, finally, of the abstractions Majestät and Ehrwürden.

Ihr and du were accepted pronominal forms of address during the fourteenth century. Ihr was used by an inferior to his superior and du by a superior to his inferior.[5] Storm's usage entirely agrees with that when Gaspard, the servant and jester, addresses his lady Wulfhild (H, VII, 30, 31, 45), his master Rolf Lembeck (H, VII, 40), and the knight Ravenstrupp (H, VII, 52)

---

[1]Konrad Burdach, Die Einigung der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache (inaugural address, ed. in Leipzig) (Halle a.d.S., 1884), p. 18. Adolph Socin, Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen nach Zeugnissen alter und neuer Zeit (Heilbronn, 1888), pp. 360-62.

[2]Cf. p. 75. [3]Paul, Vol. II, sec. 49.

[4]Ibid., secs. 15, 44.

[5]Gustav Ehrismann, "Dutzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter," Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung, II (1901-1902), 145-46. Hereafter cited as Ehrismann.

with Ihr. Likewise the servant of Ravenstrupp uses Ihr (H, VII, 68-69) to the knight Rolf Lembeck. In each of these cases the servant is addressed with du (H, VII, 30, 41, 52, 64). In the seventeenth century Ihr was still the form of address to the superior and du to the inferior.[1] Thus Ihr is used by the old forester's widow in E (V, 247) to address Junker Detlev of Eekenhof, by Johannes to Junker Wulf in AS (IV, 304), and by the maid to Junker Hinrich in G (VI, 238). In all of these cases du is accorded the inferior (E, V, 247; AS, IV, 305; G, VI, 214).

Intimates both in the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries used the familiar du.[2] Storm's usage agrees with that when Kurt von der Risch and Junker Wulf (AS, IV, 292-93), who are good friends, Hennicke and his drinking companions (E, V, 332), Peter Goldschmidt and Josias' father (R, V, 131), both pastors who once attended school together, and the drunkards in H (VII, 43), all employ the familiar du when speaking to one another. During the fourteenth century husband and wife of the nobility used both du and Ihr in addressing each other.[3] Accordingly Ravenstrupp and his wife use du to each other (H, VII, 16), but even though Rolf Lembeck and his wife usually employ du, Wulfhild does use Ihr once in addressing her husband (H, VII, 11). Metcalf's findings show that husband and wife of the nobility came to use almost exclusively Ihr in the seventeenth century in speaking to one another.[4] Storm, however, has the married couples of his seventeenth and early eighteenth century Chroniknovellen use du to each other, as for example, Junker Hinrich and his wife Bärbe (G, VI, 238) and Josias' parents (R, V, 89-90). It is likely that Storm is right, for the rural communities of Schleswig-Holstein were slow in adopting new practices.[5] That the parents in the Chroniknovellen use du to their children and that the chil-

---

[1]Georg Metcalf, Forms of Address in German ("Washington University Studies--New Series Language and Literature," No. 7 [1938]), pp. 65-66, 76. Hereafter cited as Metcalf.

[2]Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 150-51. Metcalf, pp. 67-68.

[3]Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 155.

[4]Metcalf, pp. 71-72; cf. pp. 39-41.

[5]Albrecht Keller, "Die Formen der Anrede im Frühneuhochdeutschen," ZfdW, VI (1904-1905), 139. Hereafter cited as Keller.

dren of the lower classes use du to their parents, whereas the children of the nobility use Ihr to their parents, agrees with the practice of the time.[1] Thus du is employed by Ravenstrupp to his daughter Dagmar (H, VII, 59), by Claus Lembeck to his son Rolf (H, VII, 7), by Hennicke to his stepson, Junker Detlev (E, V, 251), and by the mother to Josias (R, V, 81). Of these children only Josias addresses his mother with du (H, VII, 59-60; E, V, 253; R, V, 81). Brothers and sisters used du to each other at the time of the Chroniknovellen.[2] Accordingly Junker Hinrich and his brother, Junker Detlev (G, VI, 230) and Junker Wulf and his sister Katharina (AS, IV, 275) address one another with du.

To non-humans, that is, to animals and to the deity, the familiar pronoun du was used.[3] Thus Storm has Dagmar and Rolf use du in speaking to the dog (H, VII, 35, 70), and both Dagmar (H, VII, 61) and Josias (R, V, 124) address God with du.

Between people whose relationship changed from mere acquaintance to love, the pronoun of address often fluctuated between Ihr and du.[4] Storm indicates that very accurately: between the lovers Johannes and Katharina (AS, IV, 274, 277, 283, 286), Junker Hinrich and Bärbe (G, VI, 217) and Rolf Lembeck and Dagmar (H, VII, 27, 35, 36), the polite pronoun Ihr is used at the beginning of their acquaintance, but the polite and reserved Ihr changes to du when they become more deeply attached to each other (AS, IV, 287, 296; G, VI, 235; H, VII, 47). Junker Hinrich, who is still uncertain whether Bärbe cares for him, reverts respectfully to the polite pronoun of address (G, VI, 217), and as Johannes feels that there is no hope for their love, he uses Ihr again in addressing Katharina (AS, IV, 297). Similarly the pronoun of address changes from Ihr to du and vice versa when the speaker wishes to express disapproval.[5] Thus Renate who has always addressed Josias with the polite pronoun Ihr changes to du when she becomes angry at his

---

[1]Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 145. Metcalf, p. 71. Keller, p. 140.

[2]Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 153; cf. ibid., IV (1903), 218. Metcalf, p. 72.

[3]Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 138. Metcalf, pp. 72, 82.

[4]Metcalf, pp. 69, 70-71.

[5]Metcalf, pp. 70-71. Keller, p. 136.

intolerance (R, V, 123). On the other hand Junker Wulf, who has consistently employed du in speaking to Johannes, contemptuously uses Ihr to mock Johannes when he desires to marry Junker Wulf's sister Katharina (AS, IV, 304).

Equals who were not at the same time intimates used the pronoun of address befitting their social rank.[1] In H (VII, 71) Rolf Lembeck and Hans Ravenstrupp who are of the nobility, but not intimates, use Ihr to one another. Likewise in AS (IV, 318) the pastor, the sexton, and the painter Johannes, all of the middle class, employ Ihr in speaking to each other.

That the middle and lower classes expected to be addressed with the pronoun Ihr by the end of the seventeenth century[2] is reflected in Storm's Chroniknovellen; the pastor, the sexton, and the painter who address each other with Ihr (AS, IV, 318) are examples from the middle class. Josias, a student, and the Hofbauer, who might be considered as belonging to the lower class, use Ihr to one another (R, V, 95). Storm also indicates that the members of the middle and lower classes expected this Ihr from the nobility by the end of the seventeenth century;[3] the colonel of Grieshuus, a member of the nobility, addresses his inferior, the hunter, with Ihr (G, VI, 281).

That it was customary for the clergy to be addressed with the pronoun Ihr in the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries[4] is seen in G (VI, 274, 287) where the private tutor[5] is so addressed.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries Er and Sie-singular came to be used as pronouns of address together with the nominal forms Herr, Frau, Jumpfer, and so forth, but gradually the pronominal forms Er and Sie-singular were used alone.[6] Storm uses the pronominal Er and Sie-singular forms together with the nominal forms and alone chiefly in G: Ist Er es, Kornschreiber (G, VI, 212), Ist Sie es, Jumpfer (G, VI, 216), Er, Vater (G, VI, 213), Grüss Ihn Gott, Dietrich (AS, IV, 272). Storm has, however, as a rule the Er and

---

[1] Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 146. Metcalf, pp. 77-78.

[2] Metcalf, pp. 77-78.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Keller, p. 130.

[5] Cf. p. 48.

[6] Metcalf, pp. 82-83.

Sie-singular forms of the pronoun without the nominal form: Mariken addresses Josias with Er (R, V, 91) and Junker Hinrich uses Er (G, VI, 212) to the bookkeeper and Sie-singular to Bärbe (G, VI, 212).

Er and Sie-singular had not replaced Ihr to any extent among the nobility by the beginning of the eighteenth century.[1] Therefore, Storm is perhaps right in not using them as forms of address to the conservative North German nobility.[2] When Junker Hinrich thinks that Bärbe, a girl of the lower class, might be of noble birth, he addresses her with Ihr (G, VI, 213).

Storm's use of Sie-plural tallies fully with Metcalf's findings.[3] In G the hunter addresses the colonel who is of the nobility (G, VI, 254, 265, 269, 281-82) and Junker Rolf the colonel, his father, with Sie-plural (G, VI, 254). That Sie-plural was beginning to be recognized as the most acceptable polite form of address might be reflected in G (VI, 254) where the colonel tells his son not to address the private tutor with Er, but with Sie-plural.

The abstract forms of address Majestät and Ehrwürden are used by Storm in accordance with the then prevailing customs. Thus the countess of Jülich and Rolf Lembeck both use the plural number of the verb with Majestät[4] as they address Charles IV (H, VII, 3). As to the title Ehrwürden, Storm reproduces the language of the time not only when he has Junker Hinrich address the local pastor as Ehrwürden (G, VI, 231), but also when the relative of the colonel jestingly calls the private tutor, a candidate for the ministry, Ehrwürden (G, VI, 259, 276), because according to late seventeenth century usage the pastor was usually and the candidate occasionally so addressed.[5]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 95-96. [2] Ibid., p. 109. [3] Ibid.

[4] Cf. Ehrismann, II (1901-1902), 147.

[5] Adelung, Vol. I, col. 1660.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Storm is very accurate in reproducing the cultural background of the time of the Chroniknovellen. He pictures his characters, both real and fictitious, in such a way that they are true representatives of their time; the names of these characters were, with a few exceptions, common in Schleswig-Holstein during the time for which Storm uses them. His description of historical events, like that of the Black Death are in accordance with the contemporary accounts of historians. Storm's presentation of superstitions shows that he was thoroughly acquainted with the folklore of his native Schleswig-Holstein. He not only depicts the modes of coiffure and costumes that were common during the fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, but also indicates the gradual changes in style which occurred in Schleswig-Holstein during that time. Storm gives us also an exact picture of the customs then prevailing; his presentation of social, religious, and legal practices agrees entirely with documentary evidence. All references to buildings and their furnishings are historically accurate for the fourteenth as well as for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. So are his statements about the flora of Schleswig-Holstein. Although Storm used archaisms only in so far as his readers could understand archaic language, he nevertheless gives the language the appearance of fourteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth century language by using a moderate number of words and phrases in accordance with the rules current at that time. Storm's usage of pronominal, nominal, and abstract forms of address agrees fully with that of the time of the Chroniknovellen.

My treatise shows that Storm must have studied the cultural history of Schleswig-Holstein far beyond the sources indicated in the introduction, otherwise he would not have been able to reproduce in his Chroniknovellen almost every item of the cultural background so exactly. It is one thing to collect such a mass of

facts, it is more difficult to fit them accurately in writing literary masterpieces. This is especially true for a Novelle like R where the heroine is out of keeping with her surroundings. The people of Schwabstedte believe that the devil appears in the form of dogs, cats, and magpies, and that he has a pact with certain human beings. Renate, however, who like Thomasius holds enlightened views, considers the belief in the devil to be an illusion. Storm not only knew the facts of witchcraft, but he was able at the same time to show the effects of such superstition upon the lives of various individuals.

True, Storm was a highly subjective writer, but we have seen that he became interested in the cultural history of Schleswig-Holstein already nine years after he wrote his first Novelle. The year 1871--one year prior to the publication of his "Zerstreute Kapitel"--is usually cited as the beginning of Storm's second, the more objective period of his literary career, but I believe that an examination of his earlier Novellen would reveal that Storm gradually became a more objective writer rather early. On the other hand the average reader considers even Storm's Chroniknovellen, which were written in his later years, as highly subjective. Only a detailed study of each individual item of the cultural background in Storm's Chroniknovellen reveals that he was highly objective and historically accurate in spite of his apparent subjectiveness.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

General

Beccau, Christian U. Versuch einer urkundlichen Darstellung der Geschichte Husums bis zur Erteilung des Staatsrechtes. Schleswig, 1854.

Ersch und Gruber. Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste. Leipzig, 1818.

Friedjung, H. Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit. Wien, 1876.

Gratopp, Karl. Volkspoesie und Volksglaube in den Dichtungen Theodor Storms. Diss. Rostock, 1914.

Hecker, J. E. C. "Der Schwarze Tod im 14. Jahrhundert," Die grossen Volkskrankheiten des Mittelalters. Historisch-Pathologische Untersuchungen. Edited by August Hirsch. Berlin, 1815.

Kobes, Franz. Kindheitserinnerungen und Heimatbeziehungen bei Theodor Storm in Dichtung und Leben. Greifswald diss. Berlin, 1916.

Konstmann, F. "Der Schwarze Tod in unserer Heimat," Die Heimat, Monatsschrift des Vereins zur Pflege der Natur und Landeskunde, in Schleswig-Holstein, II (Hamburg und Lübeck, 1892), 249-60.

Köster, Adalbert. Theodor Storm und Gottfried Keller. Der Briefwechsel, zwischen Theodor Storm und Gottfried Keller. Berlin, 1909.

_____ "Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der Werke Theodor Storms," Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, LXX (1918), 1--.

Lappenberg, J. M. (ed.). "Chronicon Holtzatiae," Schleswig-Holstein Lauenburgische Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für väterländische Geschichte, Vol. I (1887).

Leppla, Rupprecht. "Wilhelm Weinhold und die chronikalische Erzählung," Germanische Studien, No. 54 (Berlin, 1928).

Müller, Thea. "Theodor Storms Erzählung Aquis Submersus," Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, No. 26 (Marburg, 1925). Edited by Ernst Elster.

Rockenbach, Therese. Theodor Storms Chroniknovellen. Eine Untersuchung über Quellen und Technik. Münster diss. Braunschweig, 1903.

Sach, August. Deutsches Leben in der vergangenheit. Halle, 1890-1891.

Schultz, Alvin. Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger. Leipzig, 1889.

_____. Das Häusliche Leben der Europäischen Kulturvölker vom Mittelalter bis zur zweiten Hälfte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts, in Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen Geschichte IV. München-Berlin, 1903.

_____. Das Alltagsleben einer deutschen Frau zu Anfang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Leipzig, 1890.

Schütze, Paul. Theodor Storm. Sein Leben und Seine Dichtung. 4th ed. Edited by Edmund Lange. Berlin, 1916.

Steinhausen, Georg. Geschichte der deutschen Kultur. 2d ed. Leipzig-Wien, 1913.

Storm, Gertrud. Theodor Storm, ein Bild seines Lebens. 2d ed. Berlin, 1902.

Waitz, Georg. Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte in drei Büchern. Göttingen, 1851-1854.

Weinhold, Karl. Die deutschen Frauen des Mittelalters. Wien, 1882.

Special

Theodor Storm. Sämtliche Werke. Edited by Adalbert Köster. Leipzig, 1923.

_____. "Zerstreute Kapitel," Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte. Ein Familienbuch für das gesamte geistige Leben der Gegenwart, XXXI (1872), 465-79.

_____. "Noch ein Lembeck," Westermanns illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte für das gesamte geistige Leben der Gegenwart, LIX (1886), 80.

Folk Belief

Bartsch, Karl. Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklemburg. Wien, 1879.

Grimm, Brüder. Deutsche Sagen. 4th ed. Edited by Reinhold Steig. Berlin, 1905.

Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens. Edited by E. Hoffmann-Krayer. Berlin, Leipzig, 1927.

Heckscher, Kurt. Die Volkskunde des germanischen Kulturkreises an Hand der Schriften Ernst Moritz Arndts und gleichzeitiger wie neuerer Parallelbelege. Marburg, 1925.

Rhyn, Henne am. Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes. 2d ed. Berlin, 1892.

Kuhn, A., and Schwarz, W. Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklemburg, Der Mark, Sachsen, Thüringen, Braunschweig, Hannover, Oldenburg und Westfahlen. Leipzig, 1848.

Müllenhoff, Karl. Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg. Revised ed. Schleswig, 1921.

Naumann, Hans. Deutsche Volkskunde in Grundzügen. Leipzig, 1935.

Rochholz, E. L. Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit. Berlin, 1867.

Sartori, Paul. Sitte und Brauch. In Handbücher zur Volkskunde, Vols. V-VIII. Leipzig, 1910.

_____. "Feuer und Licht im Totengebrauche," Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde (before 1928, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde), XVII (1907), 361-68.

Seligman, S. Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen. Hamburg, 1922.

Wuttke, Adolph. Der deutsche Volksglaube der Gegenwart. 3d ed. Edited by E. H. Meyer. Leipzig, 1925.

Costumes

Bartsch, Karl. "Sächsische Kleidung aus der Zeit von 1450-1750," Programm No. 499, Vol. II (Annaberg, 1883).

Eckhard, J. H. "Ehemalige Volkssitten und Volkstrachten in Schleswig-Holstein," Niedersachsen. Halbmonatsschrift für Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde, Sprache, und Litteratur Niedersachsens, XII (1906-1907), 367-71.

Hottenroth, Friedrich. Deutsche Volkstrachten vom XVI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert. 2d ed. Frankfurt a.M., 1923.

Kretschmer, A. Deutsche Volkstrachten. Originalzeichnungen mit erklärendem Text. 2d ed. Leipzig, 1887-1890.

Kretschmer, A., and Rohrbach, K. Trachten der Völker vom Beginn der Geschichte bis zum 19. Jahrhundert in 104 Tafeln Zusammengestellt, Gezeichnet und Lithographiert. Leipzig, 1906.

Lauremberg, Johann. "Niederdeutsche Scherzgedichte," ed. W. Braune, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, XVI-XVII. Halle, 1879.

Matthias, J. Der menschliche Schmuck, Form, Farbe und Anwendung. Leipzig, 1871.

Quincke, W. Handbuch der Kostümkunde. 3d ed. Leipzig, 1908.

Von Thienen, Frithjof, W. S. Studien zur Kostümkunde der Blütezeit Hollands. Berlin, 1929.

Law

Grimm, Jakob. Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer. Leipzig, 1899.

Hedemann-Heespen, Paul von. "Schleswig-Holsteins Erbrecht und Agrarverfassung," Zeitschrift für Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburgische Geschichte, XXXIX (1909), 300-19.

Schröder, R., and Künssberg, E. Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte. Leipzig, 1922.

Stemann, Christian L. E. Schleswigs recht und gerichtsverfassung im siebzehnten Jahrhundert nach den gerichtsprotocollen. Schleswig-Flensburg, 1855.

Religion

Bosselt, F. "Die kirchliche Kunst in Schleswig-Holstein," Zeitschrift für Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburgische Geschichte, XI (1881), 254-339.

Jensen, H. N. A. Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte. Edited by A. Michelsen. Kiel, 1873-1879.

Wackernagel, W. "Verlöbnis und Trauung," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, II (1842), 548-55.

Language

Behaghel, Otto. Deutsche Syntax. Eine Geschichtliche Darstellung. Heidelberg, 1923.

Ehrismann, Gustav. "Dutzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter," Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung, II (1901-1902), 118-59; IV, 210-48.

Grimm, Jakob und Wilhelm. Deutsches Wörterbuch. Leipzig, 1854--.

Jellinek, Max H. Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Grammatik von den Anfängen bis auf Adelung. Heidelberg, 1913.

Kehrein, Joseph. Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des fünfzehnten bis siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Leipzig, 1854.

Keller, Albrecht. "Die Formen der Anrede im Frühneuhochdeutschen," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, VI (1904-1905), 129-74.

Mensing, Otto. Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch. Neumünster, 1925-1935.

Metcalf, George. Forms of Address in German. Washington University Studies--New Series Language and Literature, No. 7.

Paul, Hermann. Deutsche Grammatik. Halle a.S., 1916.

People's Names

Förstemann, E. Altdeutsches Namenbuch. Halle, 1900--.

Friedrich, L. "Die Geographie der ältesten deutschen Personennamen," Gieszener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie. Vol. VII. Gieszen, 1922.

Heintze, Albert. Die Deutschen Familiennamen. Edited by Paul Cascorbi. Halle a.S., 1922.

Knorr, W. "Über besonders bemerkenswerte Personen- und Geschlechtsnamen," Zeitschrift für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte, XIX (1889), 137-200.

Flora

Berg, H. E. Freiherr von. Geschichte der deutschen Wälder. Dresden, 1871.

Bock, Hieronimus. Kreüterbuch. Strassburg, 1560.